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THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION *

WE are rapidly nearing one of the most important centennial anniversaries in our national history, that of the adoption of a form of government capable of holding forty republics in one solid and prosperous whole—embracing fifty-five millions of people, and territory in extent nearly, if not quite, equal to that of all Europe. The subject is one of living interest, and will be brought afresh to the reading public in all varieties of written language within the coming three years. Our blessings will naturally brighten in the unusual light, and with the new polish. We shall better comprehend the framework that has withstood the storms of a century, and be prepared for the more just appreciation of its stability—as the years roll on and the States roll in.

The achievement, however, that preceded and was vastly more remarkable than its adoption, was the production of the Constitution. Such a form of government had hitherto been unknown to the science of politics. The structure was a special creation, and at a time when the future of the country was mapped only in the imagination. Its life-giving force was the pressure of a great necessity. The confederation was too weak to bear its own weight. It had no power over commerce. It could not even levy taxes or enforce the payment of duties. As a bond of union in a time of war it had been sufficient, but was totally inadequate as a system of permanent government. The wisdom of two continents predicted disaster unless vigorous remedies were applied. American thinkers were divided on the most important questions at issue, but of one opinion as to the imminence of the danger. Some were for kingly rule; and some were in chronic alarm lest an English or French prince should be placed on an American throne.

From Virginia finally emanated an invitation for a meeting of commissioners from the several States to meet in Annapolis, for the purpose of discussing methods of regulating trade with foreign countries. The five central States only responded. The meeting was held on the 14th of September, 1786. Nothing of importance was accomplished by it further than a recommendation to Congress that authority should be given for the holding of a general Convention, for the specific purpose of revising the "Articles of Confedera-

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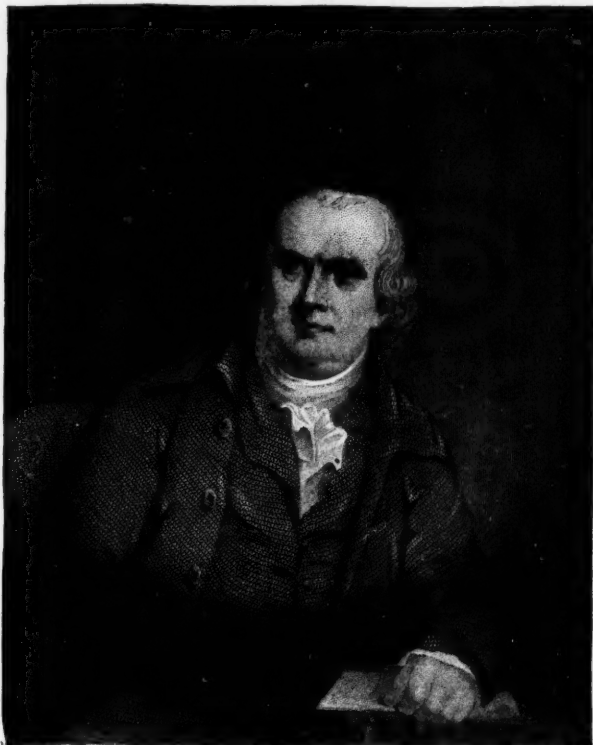
tion." But the feeble successor of that renowned Congress which had brought into existence the thirteen States, was averse to excluding itself from the right to inaugurate changes in the government, and did not comply with the request with alacrity. It questioned the constitutionality of a Convention, until thoroughly alarmed at the riotous condition of affairs in Massachusetts; and when it yielded, and advised the States to confer power upon a special assembly to convene in Philadelphia on the 14th of May, 1787, the act was not performed with special grace. Thus when the delegates had been appointed by their respective States, the situation was far from enviable. America fixed its critical eye upon them, and a general distrust of the policy of their undertaking prevailed. Their genius in government-making was yet to be displayed; and it was well known that the little which could be borrowed from experience was foreign in its character and irreducible to the exigencies of affairs in the New World.

Our present concern is with the framers personally, rather than with the grand result of their summer's work. Each one of the illustrious fifty-five will furnish a prolific theme for future and elaborate study; but we group them for the advantage of renewing our acquaintance with them in one body, for convenience in portraiture, and for ready reference.

It would be difficult to find in any age or country of the world a more interesting assemblage of public characters. They were well educated, at least four-fifths of them were college bred, and in all branches of scholarship and gentlemanly culture they, as a rule, excelled. They were astute, discreet, energetic, disinterested. They represented the highest civil talent of their respective States, were familiar with the principles of ancient and existing confederacies, had nearly all acquitted themselves nobly in some arm of the public service, and were admirably prepared for serious, searching, conscientious, and discriminating investigation and deliberation. They were of conflicting opinions, and of all ages from twenty-five to four-score. Curiously enough at least one-third of the number were under forty; and only seven of the fifty-five had passed sixty. They assembled in Philadelphia in the leafy months of May and June, 1787. They came from all points of the compass; some journeying in their own chariots drawn by four and six horses, others in springless stages, and not an insignificant few on horseback. Philadelphia was in hospitable humor, proud of being chosen as the place for the Convention, and her private citizens graciously entertained the distinguished statesmen as far as practicable. Pennsylvania provided eight delegates,* the largest number of any of the States,

* The eight Pennsylvania delegates were: Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimmons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson Gouverneur Morris.

Virginia having only seven, although she initiated the movement. North Carolina, New Jersey, Maryland, and Delaware each sent five delegates. Massachusetts, South Carolina, and Georgia four; New York and Connecticut three; and New Hampshire two; Rhode Island was not represented. Each State acted its own pleasure in regard to the number of delegates



ROBERT MORRIS.

chosen. New York struggled for five, but her inflexible Senate decreed there should be but three.

Dr. Benjamin Franklin, President of Pennsylvania, was the leading delegate from that State; and he was the oldest man in the Convention. He had recently returned from his ten years' absence in Europe, crowned with glory, and had been welcomed home with addresses of congratulation, in which he was styled "the great philosopher," "the great politician," and

"the illustrious and benevolent citizen of the world." He was quickly elected to the Presidency of Pennsylvania, an act which restored harmony to a community almost on the verge of civil war—and the day of his election was also the day of his inauguration. He resided in Market Street with his daughter and her seven beautiful children. His house was surrounded with pleasant and tastefully cultivated grounds. Prior to the meeting of the Convention he had added a new wing to his dwelling, in which he fashioned a commodious library, and contrived the "long arm" for taking books from high shelves, which he delighted in exhibiting to visitors. His public business not being arduous, he spent much time in his garden, and with his books, and in playing cribbage with his grandchildren. Writing to David Hartley of his domestic life at this period he said: "As to public amusements we have assemblies, balls and concerts, besides little parties at one another's houses, in which there is sometimes dancing, and frequently good music; so that we jog on in life as pleasantly as you do in England."

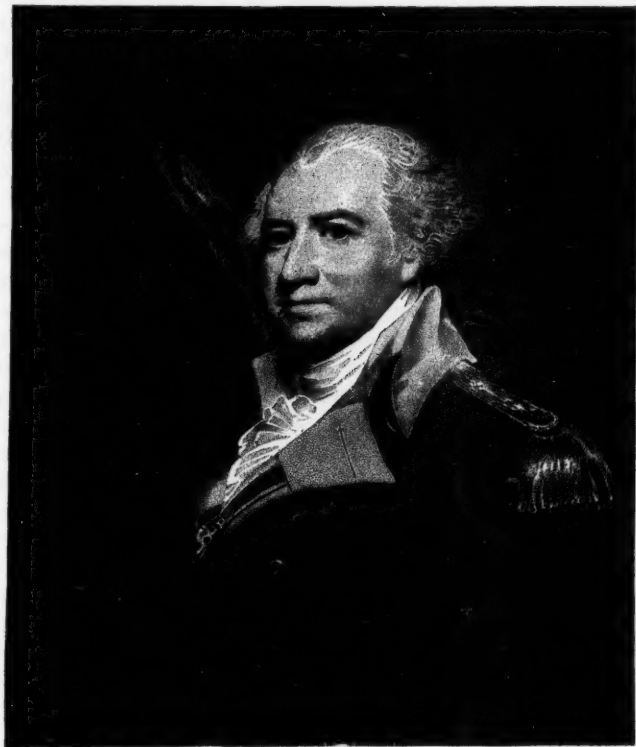
Washington, the conspicuous leader of the Virginia delegation, was the first of the Framers to arrive in Philadelphia, and with characteristic promptness on the precise day appointed. He left Mount Vernon in the latter part of April, traveling with his own equipage. At Chester, fifteen miles from the city, he was met by General Mifflin, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, and other gentlemen of distinction, and from Gray's Ferry was escorted by the city light-horse into Philadelphia—the bells ringing meanwhile—where public honors awaited him. His first act was to pay a visit of respect to Dr. Franklin.

The other delegates came slowly; day after day passed and still the majority of the States were not represented. In the mean time Washington was *fêted* by the leading residents; and according to the newspapers of the day, he "went out one evening when the weather was very tempestuous, accompanied by a brilliant crowd of his friends of both sexes, and proceeded to the University to hear a lady deliver a lecture on the Power of Eloquence." He was also the guest of honor at a stately dinner-party given by Dr. Franklin, on which occasion a cask of porter fresh from London was broached, and its contents, wrote Franklin, "met with a most cordial reception and universal approbation."

Franklin was then eighty-one years of age, and Washington fifty-five. Franklin was of average height, stooping a little as he walked, full, broad physique, and benign, spectacled countenance.* His intellect was never clearer, more acute, more active, more fruitful. Washington stood six

* This Magazine has recently published [IX. 401, XII. 14.] two portraits of Franklin.

feet and three inches in his slippers, as straight as an arrow, and was evenly developed. He had a long muscular arm, and a singularly large hand. His gravity and sublime self-poise were as notable as Dr. Franklin's wit, anecdotes and whimsicalities.* Each of the two was gifted with worldly wisdom in liberal measure, and each had in his own line of the public ser-



THOMAS MIFFLIN.

vice won world-wide fame. To a country groping in the dark for political guidance the successful soldier and the eminent diplomat were radiant beacon lights. The Convention was not formally organized until Friday, May 25, and then, as soon as the preliminary business was concluded, it

* This Magazine has published at different dates fourteen portraits of Washington. [III. 81, 465, IV. 1, V. 85, VI. 81, VII. 80, X. 177, XI. 513, XII. 550, 552.]

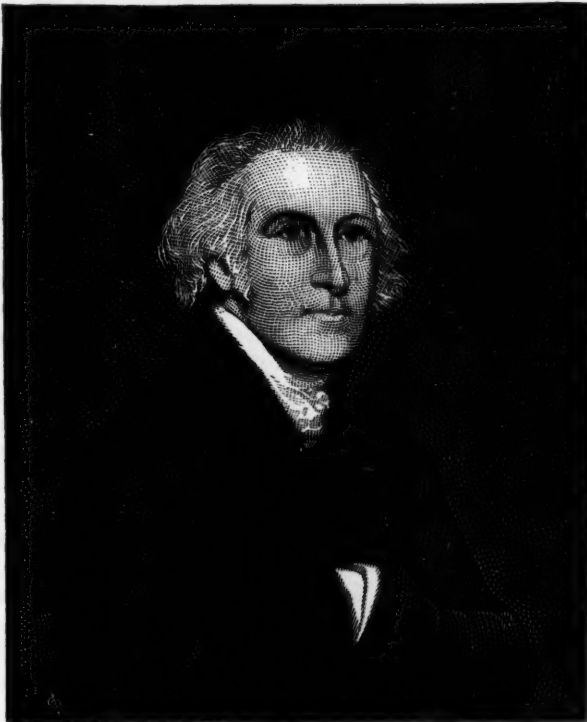
adjourned until Monday. Pennsylvania gracefully proposed Washington as the President of the Assemblage, a ceremony that was to have been performed by Franklin in person, had not a severe rain storm prevented his attendance on the occasion. Robert Morris made the motion, which was promptly seconded by John Rutledge, of South Carolina, and Washington was placed in the chair. Franklin was in his seat on Monday, and attended the Convention regularly, five hours every day afterwards for four months, his friends declaring that he grew in health and vigor under the daily exercise of going and returning from his house to Independence Hall. The Convention bound itself to secrecy and proceeded to its work with closed doors, "lest the publication of their debates" says Mr. Bancroft, "should rouse the country to obstinate conflicts before they themselves should have reached their conclusions."

In the midst of this assembled greatness, Franklin in his well-fitting, picturesque costume was the observed of all observers—as he advocated a government unimposing, inexpensive. Thomas Mifflin, the general and statesman, but little more than half the age of Franklin, with his quick movements, his sanguine temperament revealing itself in every turn of his finely poised head, and his military bearing, attracted scarcely less attention. He had lived rapidly and learned much, and thus was older at forty-three than most men. He was of Quaker parentage, and when in the ardor of his patriotism he joined the Revolutionary army his peace-loving people "read him out of meeting." His importance in public affairs appears from his having been chosen president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania in 1788, and governor of the State from 1791 to 1800.

Robert Morris, the great financier, was fifty-four, one year younger than Washington. He was large and florid, bright eyed, pleasant faced, magnetic, just as we see him in his portrait, and in the very prime of his noble manhood. He was a fluent and impressive orator, and whether in public speaking or in private conversation, overflowed with a rich fund of political knowledge and general and trustworthy information. He was born in Liverpool, coming to this country with his father, an eminent Liverpool merchant, at the age of thirteen, and was bred to mercantile pursuits. He had been one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the magic of his genius had at a later moment lighted the impetuous pathway of the American Army on to victory. But for his magnanimity and fertility of invention, it is doubtful whether, after all, the Independence so dearly bought could have been maintained.

George Clymer, who occupied a seat next him, was also one of the signers. He was six years younger than Morris, of middle size, erect in

person, of fair complexion, and features radiant with intelligence, resolution and benevolence. He rarely made a speech, through extreme diffidence, but when he did his gifts of expression were wonderful, and no man in the Convention commanded a more attentive and appreciative audience. He was a close student, and wrote with grace and accuracy, and his opinions were always treated with respect. He was a refined gentleman



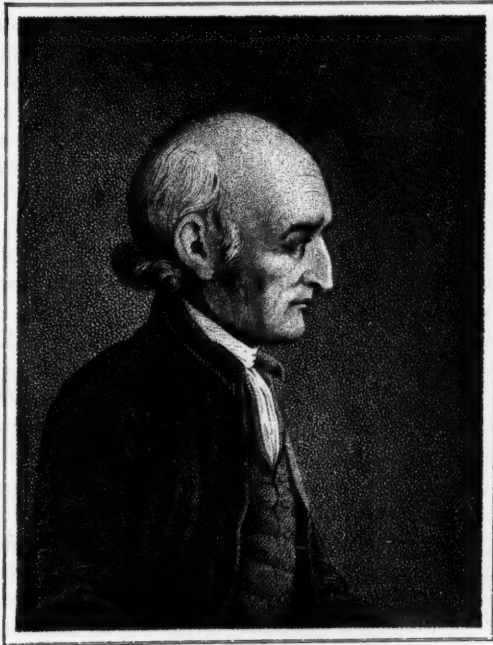
GEORGE CLYMER.

of ardent attachments, and the delight of the social circle. It is said of him that he never was heard to speak ill of the absent or known to break a promise, and he was ever ready to promote any scheme for the improvement of the country in science, agriculture, polite learning, the fine arts, or objects of mere utility. Thomas Fitzsimmons was of Irish birth and forty-six; a prominent and successful merchant of the house of George Meade & Co., who in 1780 supplied the army with some \$25,000. He had been a

member of the Old Congress, and was subsequently chosen to the first Congress under the Constitution. He was furthermore president of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. The name of Jared Ingersoll, following that of Fitzsimmons in the roll call, brings to mind some of the exciting incidents of the Stamp-Act rebellion, in which it will be remembered that his father, Jared Ingersoll, figured in the valley of the Connecticut. Being Connecticut's agent in England he had ably and persistently opposed the passage of the odious bill; but when it became a law, he was duly qualified to officiate as stamp master. From New Haven, on his return from Europe, he started on horseback for Hartford. As he rode leisurely through the woods near Wethersfield, accompanied by a guard, he suddenly met five horsemen, who turned and joined his party. Ten minutes later he met thirty horsemen, who wheeled their horses in like manner. Not a word was spoken. All rode on together with the silence and solemnity and decorum of a funeral procession. On reaching a fork in the road they met a body of five hundred men, chiefly farmers, armed with ponderous white clubs, and led by an officer in full uniform. These knights of the forest opened a line from right to left, and received Ingersoll in the center with profound courtesy. Then martial music echoed through the woods and all moved forward; a halt was ordered in the broad street of Wethersfield. Ingersoll was there commanded to resign. He expostulated and said he must "wait to learn the sense of the Government." "Here is the sense of the Government," was the quick retort. "If I refuse to resign, what will follow?" he asked. "*Your fate*," said the officer. "The cause is not worth dying for," replied Ingersoll, after a moment's hesitation, and wrote his name to the formal resignation prepared for him to sign. He was then required to shout "Liberty and Property" three times, after which ceremony he was escorted to Hartford. He rode a white horse, and as they ambled along some one asked what he was thinking about. "Death on a pale horse and hell following," was his response. His son had been in London with him, and remained there to study law in the Middle Temple; in Paris afterwards he made the acquaintance of Dr. Franklin, who became very fond of him. He resided in Philadelphia upon his return to America, where he became a prominent jurist, and twice was attorney-general of the State; he also for many years was presiding judge over one of the courts. In 1812 he was the Federal candidate for Vice-President of the United States. At the time of the Convention he was thirty-eight years of age.

James Wilson was forty-five, a Scotchman by birth, but thoroughly American in all his attachments and sentiments. He had studied at Glas-

gow, St. Andrews and Edinburgh, and completed his legal education in the office of John Dickinson, of Delaware. He was a member of the Old Congress of 1775, and voted in favor of the Declaration. During the war he always considered the States, with respect to that war, as forming one community, and he did not admit the idea that when the colonies became independent of Great Britain they necessarily became independent of each other. He was a clear, sagacious, forcible political writer, and a statesman



GEORGE WYTHE.

of high order. The eighth Pennsylvania delegate was Gouverneur Morris, a New Yorker by birth and ancestry and subsequent residence. He was one of the younger men, only thirty-five, and one of the most fearless, self-sustained, sharp-witted, clever, versatile and useful of the Framers.

Virginia's representatives had been chosen with consummate discretion.* The central figure was Washington. Madison, who had already

* The Virginia Delegates were : George Washington, James Madison, George Wythe, Edmund Randolph, George Mason, James Blair and James McClurg.

displayed his statesmanship in a multitude of ways, and was a veteran despite his having seen but thirty-six years, took a prominent part in all the debates, speaking on every momentous question that came before the Convention.* He had been one of the signers of the Declaration, one of the framers of the first constitution of Virginia, an active member of its first legislature as a State, and a member of Congress. He had applied himself untiringly to the study of government. His answers to the objections raised, when the scheme of preparing a new Constitution in place of an amended Confederacy was fairly before the house, were among the ablest of his efforts. At one time he had been a pupil of the eminent George Wythe, Chancellor of Virginia; and now teacher and pupil were sitting side by side, gravely working together on the solution of one of the most difficult problems of the age. The Chancellor was a man whom once to see was never to forget. He was of venerable aspect, aged sixty-one, and the expression of his face told the story of his firmness and integrity. He signed the Declaration in 1776, and was from first to last a courageous champion of liberty—even before it became popular to oppose England.

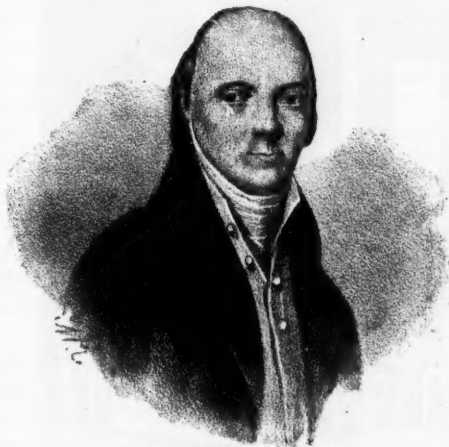
Edmund Randolph, Virginia's brilliant young governor, as yet only thirty-four, with a reputation for ability equal to his high position, went into the Convention in the firm belief that the prophesied downfall of the United States could be averted by correcting and enlarging the Articles of Confederation. He opened the business of the Convention on the 29th of May, saying: "The Confederation was made in the infancy of the science of constitutions, when the inefficiency of requisitions was unknown, when no commercial discord had arisen among states, when foreign debts were not urgent, when treaties had not been violated." He explained the defects in the Confederation, and proposed fifteen resolutions, which he explained one by one. As an orator Randolph had exceptional command of language, and his voice was musical and his gestures graceful. He was large, portly, of commanding presence, with bright, animated, handsome features, and most engaging manners.† He voted against the new instrument, but afterwards in the Virginia Convention urged its acceptance; and when the new government was duly organized and in successful operation he accepted the appointment of Secretary of State under Washington, serving from 1794 to 1795.

By the side of Governor Randolph stood George Mason, an old-school gentleman, majestic in size and of princely bearing, austere, courtly, self-willed, his face browned with sun and wind, and his hair flecked with the

* This Magazine recently published [XI. 100, 392] two portraits of Madison.

† This Magazine published [XI. 393] the portrait of Edmund Randolph.

snows of sixty-one well rounded years. He was a man of profound learning and took a leading part in the debates, proposing many curious schemes. He advocated the election of President directly from the people, and for a term of seven years, with ineligibility afterward. He had a mortal hatred to paper money, and disapproved of the slave-trade. In a speech of blazing eloquence he said: "Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant; this infernal traffic originated in the avarice of British merchants; the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to it;" and he thought the general government should have power to prevent its increase. He had fourteen years before given expression to



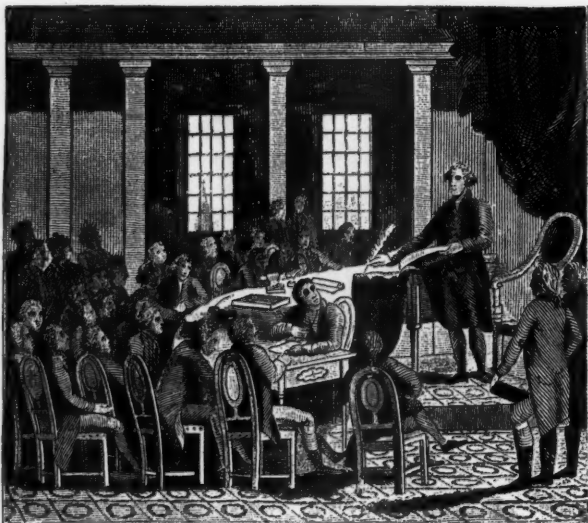
JOHN BLAIR.

sentiments of a similar character in the Virginia legislature. He was dissatisfied with several features of the Constitution as it approached completion, and withheld his signature. "The government will surely end either in monarchy or a tyrannical aristocracy," he said. He did not hesitate to dissect and denounce the instrument before and after its adoption as the "sum of every evil." He built Gunston Hall, on the Potomac, where he spent the greater part of his life.*

John Blair was a jurist of great acumen and ability, who had been chief justice of Virginia, and judge of the High Court of Chancery. He was of the same age as Washington, fifty-five. In 1769 he had been one of the

* The picture of Gunston Hall [XI. 387] and a rare portrait of George Mason [XI. 385] were published by this Magazine in May, 1884.

famous party of patriots who met at the Raleigh Tavern and drafted the non-importation agreement. His law studies were prosecuted at the Temple, London; and he was a man of wide reading and general culture. In 1789 President Washington appointed him justice of the United States Supreme Court. He was distinguished for the excellence of his private character, no less than for his public services. James McClurg was a physician, who took his degree of M.D. at Edinburgh in 1770, and continued his studies at Paris and London, where he published a medical essay that



CONVENTION AT PHILADELPHIA IN 1787.
[From an antique print.]

was so highly popular as to be translated into all the languages of Europe. He resided in Richmond, and aside from having risen to the head of his profession, had for a long time been one of the Council of State in Virginia. He had just passed his fortieth birthday. In the Convention his voice was often heard; one motion that he made was, that the term of

the presidential office should be good behavior, "to escape corrupt cabals and yet preserve a good officer in place."

The first two months of the Convention were much occupied in discussing the terms upon which states as small as Delaware and Rhode Island could safely and justly enter a confederacy with such large states as Pennsylvania, Virginia and New York. The smaller were unwilling to be overshadowed or oppressed, and the larger declined to forego the importance due to their superior wealth and population. The small states demanded an equal representation in the national legislature, and the large states pronounced such a claim preposterous and unreasonable. They held it

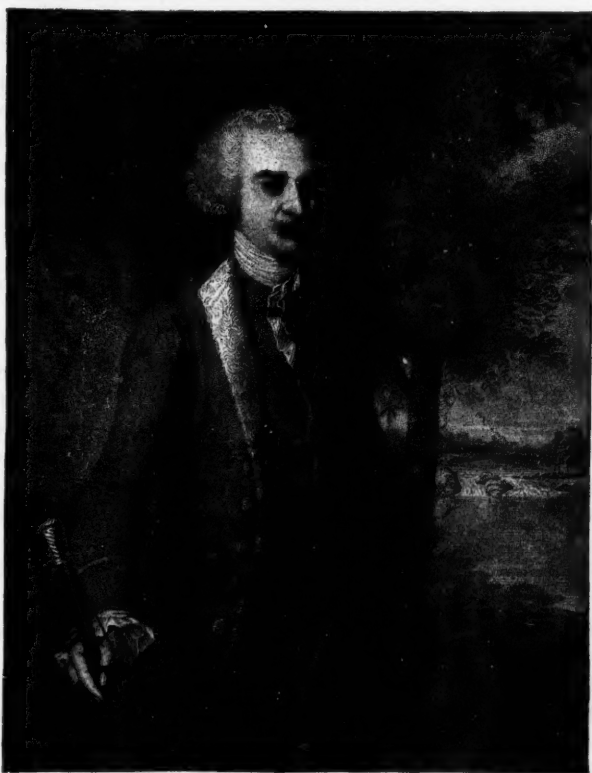
to be manifestly wrong that a state sixteen times as large as Delaware should have only the same number of votes. The debates were eloquent and earnest, then hot and acrimonious. Washington with lofty and severe dignity in the chair, and Franklin with contagious good humor on the floor, tried in vain to cool the heats of disputation. Delaware, the smallest state represented, contended with the most spirit and persistence for an equality absolute and entire.* No compromise would be considered for a moment. With the larger states the contest was for power, with the smaller states for existence. George Read held his position with calm, judicial, convincing logic. John Dickinson was more intense and fiery in his arguments, spoke oftener, and on several occasions introduced a whole chapter of bitterness into his powerful speeches. George Read said—"The confederation was founded on temporary principles; to patch it up would be like putting new cloth upon an old garment. If we do not establish a new government on good principles, we must either go to ruin or have the work to do over again." He moved that the Senators should hold their office during good behavior, which was seconded by Robert Morris. The idea not being generally supported, he moved that the term of Senators be nine years, one-third going out triennially. Nathaniel Gorham, of Massachusetts, inquired: "What would be the situation of Delaware in case of a separation of the States? Would she not be at the mercy of Pennsylvania?" John Dickinson said that the proposed national system was like the solar system, in which the states were the planets, and should have free scope to move in their proper orbits. He declared that "rather than be deprived of equality in the legislature of the nation, he would choose to be the subject of a foreign power." The eminent chief justice of New Jersey, David Brearly, vehemently exclaimed: "If thirteen sovereign and independent states are to be formed into a nation, the states as states must be abolished, and the whole must be thrown into a hotchpot, and when an equal division is made there may be fairly an equality of representation. New Jersey will never confederate on the plan before the committee. I would rather submit to a despot than such a fate." Gouverneur Morris said, speaking for Pennsylvania: "If persuasion does not unite the small states with the others, the sword will." Madison encouraged the large states to oppose the demands of the smaller ones steadfastly. Others, among whom were Elbridge Gerry and George Mason, saw that there must be some compromise or secession would follow. It really seemed as if that one perverse rock was about to shipwreck

* Delegates from Delaware: George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

the whole fleet. But Delaware carried her point in the end. Franklin came to the rescue with an amendment, or accommodation, to prevent the dissolution of the Convention, and after considerable wrangling, the simple, sensible and satisfactory settlement of the vexed controversy was that every state should have equal representation in the Senate without regard to size, and in the House every state should have a representation proportioned to its population—and no ill-feeling ever resulted therefrom. "Thus," writes James Parton, in his "Life of Franklin," "Rhode Island and Delaware, Pennsylvania and New York were made equal members of the same confederacy, without peril to the smaller and without injustice to the larger. Of all political expedients (in a great emergency) this was perhaps the happiest ever devised. Its success has been so perfect as scarcely to have excited remark. The nation is as unconscious of the working of the system as a healthy man is of the process of digestion."

George Read, the leader of the Delaware delegation, was the only Southern statesman who signed all three of the great state papers on which our history is based—the original Petition to the King of the Congress of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution. He was the eldest son of John Read, a public spirited and wealthy Southern planter, born in Dublin in 1688—a descendant of the eminent Reads of Berkshire and Oxfordshire, England—who removed to this country, and died in 1756, possessed of several plantations in Maryland, as well as a handsome landed estate in Delaware. Among the fellow-pupils of George Read, in acquiring his education, were Hugh Williamson, Charles Thomson, the famous Secretary of Congress, Dr. John Ewing, the well known mathematician, astronomer and college president, and John Dickinson. In legal learning Read was excelled by none, and as soon as admitted to the bar rose rapidly to distinction. In 1763, at the age of thirty, he was appointed attorney-general by the crown, from which time he continuously held public office in Delaware until his death, in 1798, as chief justice of the State. He resigned his office of attorney-general to accept a seat in the first Continental Congress, and was subsequently elected to the second. Concerned in all the great measures of independence he was one of the "Fathers and Founders of the Republic;" but he was also in a peculiar sense the "Father of Delaware," for he was the author of her first Constitution, in 1776, and of the first edition of her laws. He figured in her assembly not less than twelve years, was vice-president of the State, and at one period her acting chief magistrate. He penned the addresses from Delaware to the king, which Lord Shelburne said "so impressed George III. that he read them over twice." He is the most con-

spicuous figure in the Delaware record, for Thomas McKean and John Dickinson were more closely allied to Pennsylvania than Delaware; and while Cæsar Rodney was prominent at the time of the Declaration, and afterwards as president of Delaware, his premature death in 1783 cut short



JOHN DICKINSON.

his career. In person Read was tall, slight, graceful, with a finely-shaped head, refined features and dark brown lustrous eyes.* His manners were dignified, bordering upon austerity—he could not tolerate the slightest familiarity—but courteous and at times captivating, and he dressed with the most scrupulous care. He commanded the perfect confidence

* See Frontispiece.

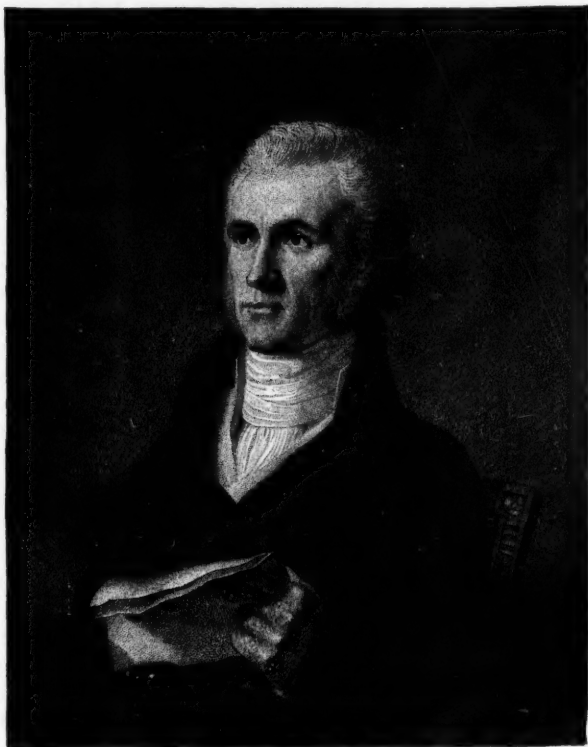
of Delaware, not only through his profound legal knowledge, sound judgment and impartial decisions, but through his severe integrity and estimable private character. Those who differed from him in opinion believed he was acting from a sense of duty, and declared "there was not a dishonest fiber in his heart or an element of meanness in his soul." John Dickinson was fifty-five, one year older than Read. The character of this much misunderstood man was not a chapter of contradictions. His charming scholarship, gifts as a writer and forensic ability had been recognized long before his rare powers in public debate found expression and appreciation. In opposing and refusing to sign the Declaration of Independence he lost his popularity. But through the friendship and political and personal influence of George Read he was after a time restored to public life, and had been president successively of the states of Delaware and Pennsylvania prior to the Convention. He was tall, straight and thin, with pleasing address and polished manners, earnest, affectionate and tender-hearted. He was of a nervous temperament, exceedingly sensitive, and often over-anxious, even to timidity. Dickinson College, which he founded and liberally endowed, perpetuates his name and services to the country. Gunning Bedford, Jr., was the first cousin of Governor Bedford of Delaware, a handsome man of forty, and a fluent and agreeable speaker. He participated in the debates of the Convention, and on the question of representation expressed his views with warmth so near to intemperance that he was sharply censured. He was, soon after the Convention, appointed attorney-general of Delaware, and from 1789 to 1812 filled honorably the high office of judge of the United States District Court of Delaware. Jacob Broom was younger, only thirty-five, and less prominent. Richard Bassett was a lawyer of fine standing, who for some years occupied the bench; he was also governor of Delaware. His daughter married James A. Bayard.

In this connection it should be said of Delaware that she was the very first state to ratify the Constitution, "leading the way at the head of the grand procession of the thirteen states," on the 7th of December, 1787, without asking for one amendment. Rhode Island, who was not represented in the Convention, was the last of the states to come into the Union, and before doing so sent in a polite request for twenty-one amendments.

North Carolina was not behind the other states in contributing merit to this august body.* Hugh Williamson, M.D., was by birth a Pennsyl-

* North Carolina delegation: Hugh Williamson, William Richardson Davie, William Blount, Richard D. Spaight, Alexander Martin.

vanian, a thorough scholar in divinity, in mathematics and in medicine. He was an accomplished writer on a great variety of abstruse topics. He had studied medicine in Edinburgh and Utrecht, and had served in the Continental army as chief of the medical department of the troops of North Carolina, under Governor Caswell. He was a bachelor of fifty years, who



WILLIAM RICHARDSON DAVIE.

lost his heart in New York while—two years later—a member of the first Congress under the Constitution, and married the daughter of Charles Ward Apthorpe. He had in the course of his useful career gained such a reputation for integrity that it was said no one dared approach him with either flattery or falsehood. The youngest man from North Carolina was William Richardson Davie, then but thirty-one, of commanding presence, an accomplished orator, with a voice of peculiar melody, and remarkably

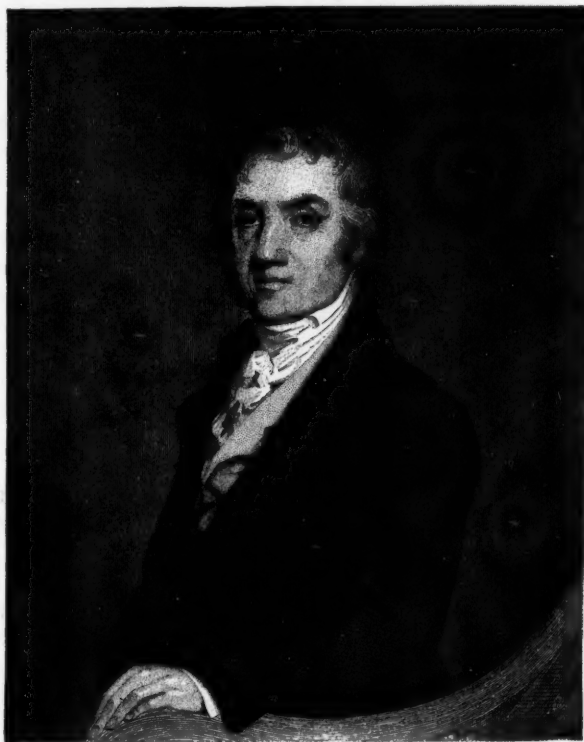
winning and handsome features. He was a general favorite; one of the most affable, hospitable and delightful of companions. He was by birth an Englishman, but was graduated from Princeton College: he served as commissary-general of the Southern army under General Greene. At the end of the war he began the practice of law, and had already become one of the most distinguished lawyers in the state. He was for many years a member of the state legislature. In 1799 he was made governor of North Carolina, and was subsequently sent by the President on a mission to France. William Blount had been North Carolina's delegate to the Old Congress for several years. He was eminently qualified for the duties of a legislator. In 1790 he was appointed governor of the Territory of Ohio, and in 1796 was president of the convention to form the state of Tennessee, and subsequently was appointed president of that state. Richard D. Spaight had also been a member of the Old Congress. During the war he served as an aid of Governor Caswell, and was at the battle of Camden in 1780. The next year he entered the House of Commons of North Carolina. In 1792 he was chosen governor of the State. Alexander Martin was an ex-governor, and an ex-speaker of the Senate. He had been much in public life, and had commanded a regiment in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. He was again chosen governor of North Carolina in 1789, and was United States Senator from 1793 to 1799. He gained in addition to this considerable distinction through his literary attainments.

The most notable and industrious delegate from Georgia was a son of her adoption, Abraham Baldwin.* He was a young Connecticut lawyer of thirty-three, a graduate of Yale, and four years one of its tutors (the brother-in-law of Joel Barlow), who at the request of General Greene had removed to Savannah in 1784. He was one of the best classical and mathematical scholars of the age. In the Georgia legislature he originated the plan of the State University, drew up the charter by which it was endowed with 40,000 acres of land, and with the aid of Governor Milledge carried it through successfully; after which he was several years its president. He had been a delegate to Congress since 1785, and was re-elected continuously until 1799, at which time he was chosen to the Senate, where he remained until his death in 1807. William Few was an able jurist, and had served in the Old Congress, afterwards becoming a Senator.† William Pierce and William Houstoun were both men of eminence and influence. Pierce was a Virginian by birth, and in the war had been an aid to General Greene, and was now a member of Congress.

* Georgia Delegation: Abraham Baldwin, William Few, William Pierce, William Houstoun.

† This Magazine published [VII., 321] the portrait of William Few.

From South Carolina came a brilliant and accomplished delegation.* John Rutledge, who, like his brother Edward, had received legal training at the Temple, and become versed in all the intricacies of the English law, had been one of the active members of the Stamp Act Congress, held in New York twenty-two years before (in 1765), when but twenty-six years of



ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

age. He was now forty-eight. Of Irish descent, with the quick wit of the race, and possessed of marvelous boldness and decision of character, he had risen to a high place in the confidence of his state; indeed he was the pride of South Carolina. Washington said he was the greatest orator in the Continental Congress. At the time of his appointment to that Congress

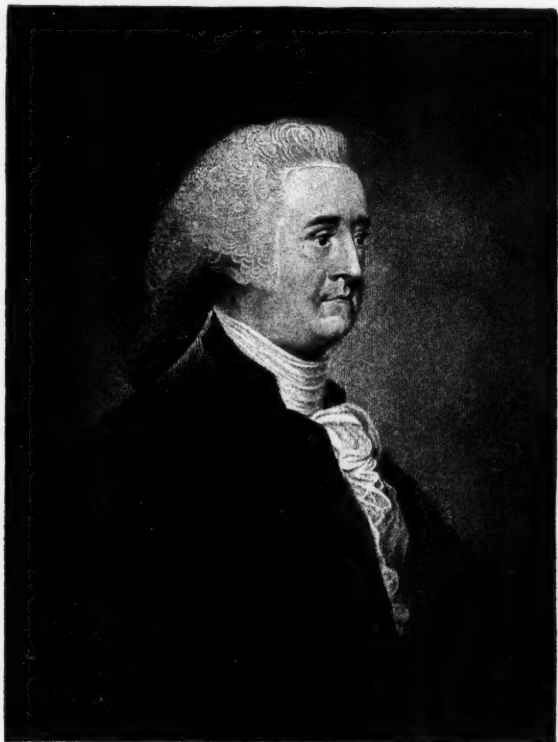
* South Carolina Delegation: John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

the Boston Port-bill had just been read in Charlestown, and expresses had been sent all over the state to call the general meeting of the inhabitants. Everybody was in a fever of excitement. When the question arose as to how far the delegates might go in supporting the people of Boston, John Rutledge exclaimed, with incomparable energy, "No instructions to the representatives, but full authority to exercise their discretion, and a pledge to the men of New England that South Carolina will stand by whatever her delegates promise for her." One of the opposition asked, cynically: "What shall we do if the delegates make an improper use of this large grant of power?" The answer came like the sharp crack of a volley of musketry—"Hang them!" The effect was irresistible, and the delegates *did* go to the Congress unhampered by directions and ready to help Boston as far as among the possibilities. Rutledge was re-elected to the Congress of 1775, and in 1776 was chairman of the committee that prepared the constitution of South Carolina, of which state he was elected the first president. In 1779 he was chosen governor, and clothed with dictatorial power. Retiring from the office in 1782 he was once more elected to Congress, and in 1784 made chancellor of the state, and was still holding that office when appointed a delegate to the Convention. With such wide experience in public affairs he naturally bore a prominent part in the work of framing the Constitution.

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, son of Chief-Justice Charles Pinckney, was younger than Rutledge by seven years. He was an elegant scholar, and socially one of the most charming men of his day. He was educated at Westminster and Oxford, England, read law at the Temple, and spent some months in the Royal Military Academy at Caen, France. Returning to South Carolina in 1769, he established himself in the practice of law; but during the war he passed through every vicissitude of a soldier's life. His celebrity at a later day is well known. He declined successively the places of judge of the Supreme Court, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State offered him by Washington; but in 1796 accepted a mission to France, which, however unsuccessful, gave him great renown. He was President-General of the Cincinnati from 1805 to 1825.* His kinsman, Charles Pinckney, was but twenty-seven when he came into the Convention, yet his education and his ability won a high place for him among the law-makers. He spoke with great force and effect upon nearly all the important questions before the Framers, who lost sight of his youth in the maturity of his thought. In the debate on Slavery he took

* This Magazine, in September, 1873 [X., 179,] published the portrait of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney.

part with fervid eloquence. He had been four years in the Old Congress prior to the Convention; and subsequently was governor of South Carolina, in the United States Senate at three different periods, and minister to Spain, where he negotiated a release from that power of all right and title to the territory purchased from France by the United States. He was a



JOHN RUTLEDGE.

gentleman of varied culture and great polish of manners. Pierce Butler was a learned and popular man of forty-three, of Irish birth, and of the family of the Dukes of Ormond. He, too, had been a member of the Old Congress. When it was proposed in the Convention that persons fleeing from justice should be delivered up on demand of the executive of the state from which he fled, Butler proposed that "fugitive slaves should be delivered up like criminals," but afterwards withdrew his motion, and

offered another in its place. When the new government was organized, South Carolina sent him to the United States Senate.

From New Hampshire came John Langdon, subsequently three times governor of that state, a severely practical republican, of sterling good sense, social habits and pleasing address.* He was forty-eight, while Nicholas Gilman, his colleague, was but twenty-five. It was John Langdon who furnished means to equip Stark's Militia in the dismal days prior to the battle of Bennington, pledging his plate among other personal valuables for the purpose. Young Gilman was already a member of the Old Congress, despite his boyish appearance, to which he had been chosen in

1786, and he subsequently served in both houses of the national legislature.



NICHOLAS GILMAN.

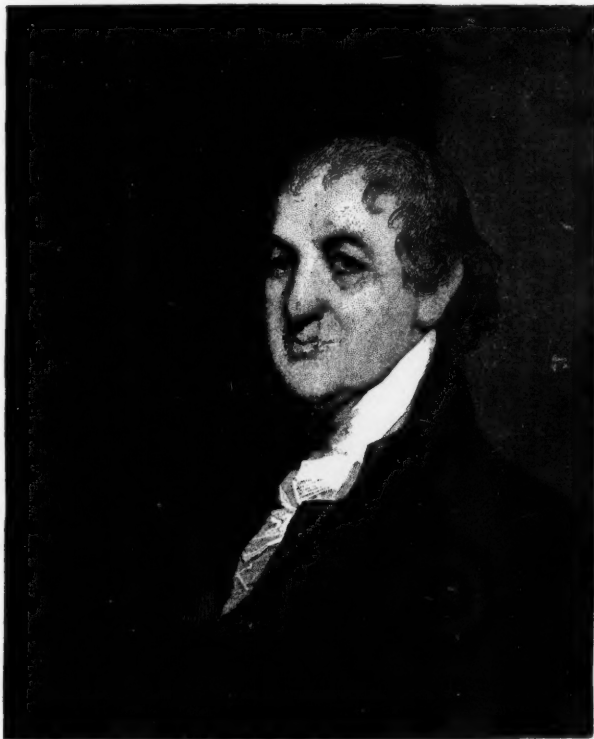
The quartet from Massachusetts were strong mentally, morally and politically.† Caleb Strong, born in Northampton thirty years before the breaking out of the Revolution, a graduate from Harvard, and a student of law in all its varied features, was admirably fitted for the important constructive work before the august body. He was a statesman of inflexible adherence to principle, a man of spotless private character, affected no elegance of style, was tall, angular, with a somewhat large head, dark

complexion, hair but slightly powdered resting loosely on a high, thoughtful brow, from beneath which blue eyes of singular beauty beamed with gentleness and kindly warmth. There was firmness in the expression of his face, however, and in the study of his portrait one is not surprised to learn of his high-handed action twenty-five years later when, as governor of Massachusetts, during the war of 1812, he denied the right of the President, upon constitutional grounds, to make requisition upon the state for troops. In

* New Hampshire delegates: John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

† The Massachusetts delegates: Caleb Strong, Elbridge Gerry, Rufus King, Nathaniel Gorham.

marked contrast, as far as concerns personal appearance, was Elbridge Gerry, aged forty-three, one year the senior of Caleb Strong, who was small and slight of stature, and of extreme urbanity of manner. He, too, was a graduate of Harvard, was a master in questions of commerce and finance, and had seen much service in the councils of state. He was in



CALEB STRONG.

Congress from 1776 to 1785, and signed the Declaration of Independence. He was subsequently in the Federal Congress some four years, was sent on a mission to France, served as governor of Massachusetts and Vice-President of the United States.* Nathaniel Gorham was a merchant of Boston, and familiar through his own experience with commercial affairs in all

* This Magazine published in November, 1884 [XII. 389], a portrait of Elbridge Gerry.

countries. He had been a member of the Old Congress, of which he was president in 1786. In the Convention he served on some of the most important committees, and his opinions were held in great respect. He was the oldest of the Massachusetts delegates, having reached his fiftieth year. Rufus King was the youngest, being only thirty-three. He was already a legal luminary, and his vigorous oratory and rare combination of personal and intellectual endowments made him a notable figure in the Convention.* His voice, like that of Madison, was lifted in every debate, and his influence was very great. His subsequent life was closely identified with New



WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

York, where he married and made his permanent residence. His public career covered a period of more than forty years, six of which were spent at the Court of St. James as minister to England. He was a scholarly politician and an accomplished diplomatist; as a man he was universally respected and beloved.

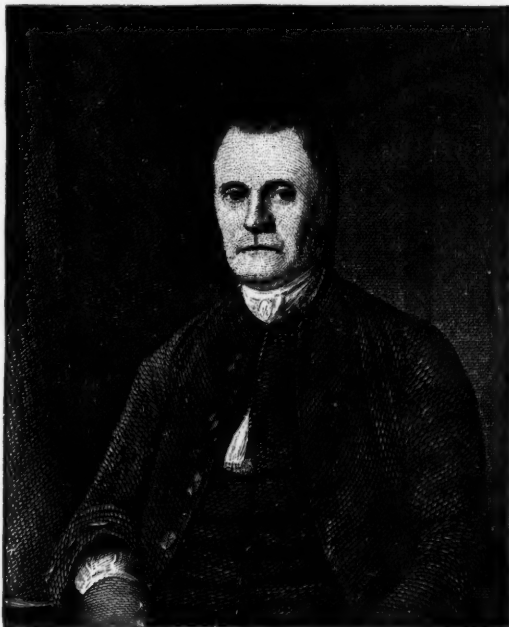
Connecticut sent three of her brightest and best men.† William Samuel Johnson, sixty years of age and a college president (having just been elected to preside over Columbia College), was not only an eminent lawyer and a judge of distinction but one of the most accomplished scholars of his

time in science and in literature. He was the son of Rev. Samuel Johnson, D.D., first president of Columbia (King's) College, and with the exception of Rufus King was the only New England Episcopalian in the Convention. He had been an important member of the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, and assisted in writing its address to the king; he was the able agent of Connecticut in England before the war, where Oxford made him a doctor of the civil law, and where he was on intimate

* This Magazine published in November, 1884 [XII. 395], a portrait of Rufus King.

† The Connecticut Delegation: William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, Oliver Ellsworth.

friendly terms with Dr. Samuel Johnson, and the privileged guest in the cultured circle of which that literary colossus was the acknowledged chief. On his return to Connecticut he was made judge of the Superior Court, and subsequently was the leading commissioner in adjusting the territorial disputes with Pennsylvania. He also served in the Old Congress from 1784 to 1787. Roger Sherman was six years older than Johnson, and in many respects the most remarkable man in the Convention. No one cer-



ROGER SHERMAN.

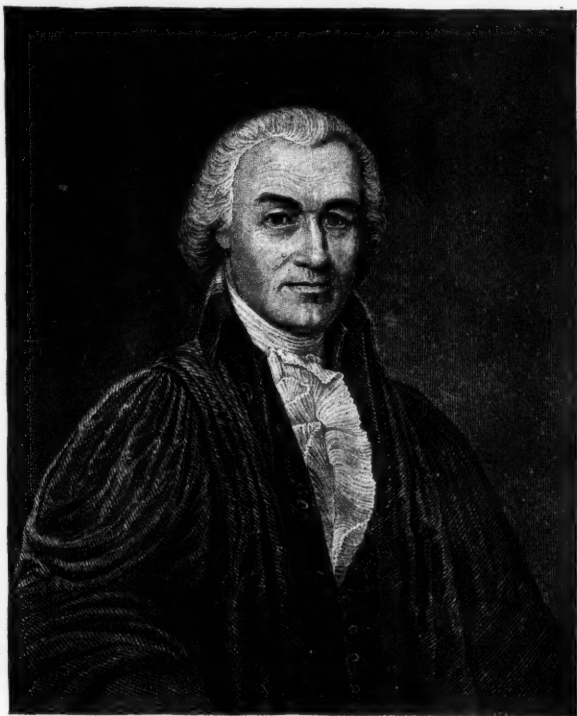
tainly had had so broad an experience in legislation. He was sent to the first Continental Congress in 1774, and to every other Congress to the end of his life. He was the only Northern statesman, as George Read was the only Southern statesman, who signed all three of the great state papers which gave birth and power to a mighty empire; Sherman did more, for he signed in addition the Articles of Confederation—which he helped to construct; he was the only American statesman who attached his name to the *four* important documents. The son of a New England farmer,

Sherman was bred to industry, hardly ever knowing an idle hour. He studied law under many difficulties; but few excelled him in acumen and sound judgment, as soon as he had once established himself in practice. In the language of Mr. Bancroft, "The country people among whom he lived gave him every possible sign of their confidence. The church made him its deacon; Yale College its treasurer; New Haven its representative, and, when it became a city, its first mayor, re-electing him as long as he lived. For nineteen years he was annually chosen one of the fourteen assistants, or upper house of the legislature; and for twenty-three years a judge of the Court of Common Pleas, or of the Superior Court." His knowledge of human nature seemed intuitive; he was calm, grave, self-poised and saturated through and through with practical wisdom. According to Jefferson he was a man "who never said a foolish thing in his life." He was tall, well-proportioned, of fair complexion, but by no means handsome. In the Convention he never wearied his hearers with long speeches, "but would seize on the turning-point of a question and present it in terse language, which showed his own opinion and the strength on which it rested." Oliver Ellsworth, subsequently chief justice of the United States, was only forty-two, but, like his colleagues, rich in experience. After two years in Yale he graduated from the College of New Jersey; was early admitted to the bar, and became state attorney and a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut, taking part in all the revolutionary political discussions and measures. He was a member of the Old Congress for several years, and in 1784 was appointed judge of the Superior Court. He was an unassuming man, always self-possessed, cautious, and independent in utterance whenever his opinions were once formed. No one was more impressive and convincing in debate. In his private character he combined all the charms of the best species of good-breeding with the excellences of the Christian gentleman.

At the head of the New Jersey delegation* stood her famous war governor, William Livingston, who had reached his sixty-fifth year. He had been an eminent member of the New York bar as early as 1752, and was one of the most caustic and forcible essayists in the country; he was also one of the few poets of his time. It was next to impossible for him to make a speech that was not seasoned with dry humor and stinging satire. He was probably the best classical scholar in the assemblage. He had through a long career of active public and political service acquitted himself with honor. He had been a member of the first and second Conti-

* The New Jersey delegates were: William Livingston, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton, David Brearly, William C. Houston.

nental Congresses, and from 1776 until his death in 1790 was governor of New Jersey, conducting her affairs, particularly during the Revolution, with great judgment and energy. He was a most ardent hater of all monarchical forms, a political prophet, and a sagacious adviser. David Brearly, the chief justice of New Jersey, was a much younger man, only forty-one,



OLIVER ELLSWORTH.

and an able, active, and important member of the Convention. William Patterson was one year his senior, a man of great learning and many accomplishments. He was a lawyer, admitted to the bar in 1769, and a member of the New Jersey constitutional convention in 1776, after which for ten years he was attorney-general of the state. When the new government went into operation he was elected to the Senate, and in 1791 became governor of New Jersey. He subsequently was appointed a justice

of the Supreme Court. In 1798 he revised by legislative authority the laws of New Jersey. Jonathan Dayton was a young lawyer of much promise, aged twenty-seven, a native of Elizabethtown. From 1795 to 1799 he was speaker of the House of Representatives; and during the next six years was United States Senator from New Jersey.

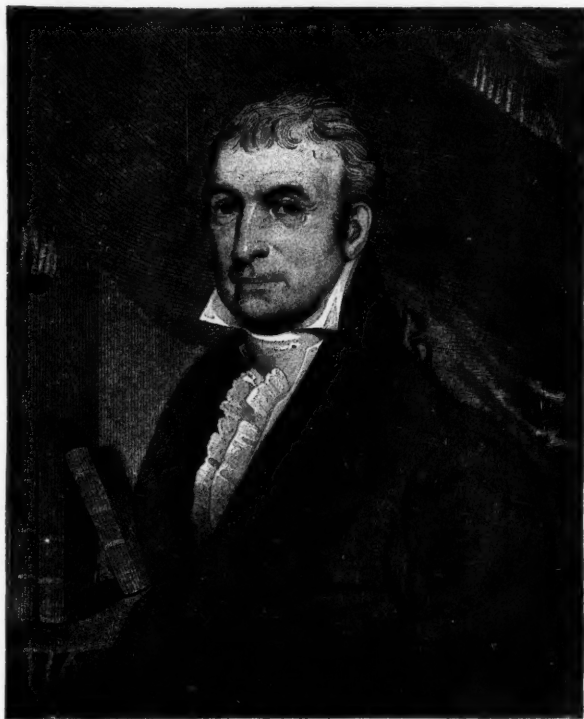
The most prominent of the Maryland delegates* was Luther Martin, attorney-general of the state, a lawyer of commanding influence, and a violent politician. He grew exceedingly warm over the question of equality of votes, and on one occasion declared that "each state must have an equal vote or the business of the Convention must come to an end." He was a pungent political essayist, and wrote on many subjects. In his celebrated report to the Maryland legislature on the doings of the Convention, he said there was "a distinct monarchical party" in that body. He opposed the Constitution with all his strength. Twenty years later, at the age of sixty-three, he was a firm personal and political friend of Aaron Burr, whose acquittal he was instrumental in procuring when tried for treason, in 1807. John Francis Mercer was a shrewd and capable young man of twenty-nine, a graduate of William and Mary's College, and a Virginia delegate to Congress from 1782 to 1785. He was subsequently a member of Congress from Maryland, and the governor of Maryland from 1801 to 1803. Daniel Carroll was a cousin of Charles Carroll, the signer, a well-educated gentleman of thirty-two, who did not, however, arrive in Philadelphia until the 9th of July. He was sent to Congress in 1789, and in 1791 was one of the commissioners for surveying the District of Columbia, his farm occupying a portion of the site of the present city of Washington. James McHenry was two years the senior of Carroll, thirty-four. He was the aide-de-camp of Lafayette in the war, with rank of lieutenant-colonel, and a delegate to Congress from 1783 to 1786. In 1796 he was appointed Secretary of War, serving in that capacity from 1796 to 1800. Daniel Jenifer, of St. Thomas, was sixty-four, nearly twice as old as either of the three last named Framers. He signed the Constitution, as did both McHenry and Carroll. He was in Congress two years. It is a noteworthy fact that all but twelve of the fifty-five Framers of the Constitution had at some period been in the Continental or Old Congress.

New York, the Empire state, conscious of her prospective importance, jealously resisted the national scheme.† Of her three delegates Robert Yates and John Lansing were notably in favor of preserving the individual

* The Maryland Delegation were: Luther Martin, John Francis Mercer, Daniel Carroll, Daniel Jenifer of St. Thomas, James McHenry.

† The New York delegates: Robert Yates, John Lansing, Alexander Hamilton.

powers of the State. Yates had been in public life many years; was in the famous Committees of Safety, in the Provincial Congress of New York, and in the convention that framed the state constitution in 1777; had also been a judge of the Supreme Court and chief justice of the state. He was fifty years of age, and distinguished for his moderation and impar-



LUTHER MARTIN.

tiality. John Lansing studied law in Chief Justice Yates' office. He was thirty-three, brilliant and versatile; was seven years in the state legislature, four years mayor of Albany, and in the Old Congress from 1784 to 1788. He was appointed chief justice of the state in 1798, and from 1801 to 1814 was chancellor. Both Yates and Lansing vigorously opposed the Constitution, and when it was found impossible to patch up the Articles of Confederation to meet the emergency, they took the ground that the

Convention was transcending its powers in attempting to construct a new instrument, and went home.

Hamilton, undaunted at being thus left alone to represent so large and important a state, marshaled his marvelous gifts and forces into full play. By the action of the majority of her delegates New York had lost her vote in the Convention, and little dreamed that the boldness, energy, acute sense, and well-balanced intellect of her youthful statesman, was to overbear by eloquence, interpret essential needs by illustration, usurp powers with imperious will, and then convince by argument a large proportion of



JAMES MCHENRY.

her population that he was in the right, and compel in the end a public recognition and justification of his conduct. But such were the facts. He was but thirty, and in size probably the smallest man in the assemblage. Yet in certain respects he was the greatest of them all. He unquestionably evinced more remarkable maturity than was ever exhibited by any other person at so early an age in the same department of thought. His views, although held with great tenacity, were also held in subordination to what was practicable. Franklin opposed every proposition that tended

towards arbitrary government. He thought the Chief Magistrate should have no salary and little power, and that the government should be a simple and ingenious contrivance for executing the will of the people. He said that ambition and avarice, the love of power and the love of money, were the two passions that most influenced the affairs of men, and argued that the struggle for posts of honor which were at the same time places of profit, would perpetually divide the nation and distract its councils; and that the men who would thrust themselves into the arena of contention for preferment would not be the wise and moderate, those fitted for high trusts, but the bold, the selfish and the violent, and that in the bustle of cabal and the mutual abuse of parties the best of characters would be torn in pieces.

Hamilton went to the other extreme. He did not want a monarchy, but he was for having a perpetual senate and a perpetual governor. The great principle he cherished acknowledged the inalienable right of the individual state to control absolutely its own domestic and internal affairs, because better able to do it intelligently than any outside power, but which also recognized the desirability and necessity of a central government that should settle and determine national questions. To embody such a scheme, with all its delicate details and shadings, in a written document, was the puzzle of puzzles. The prudence of Franklin was one of the great influences that ruled the hour. His well-timed anecdotes and quaint observations created many a burst of genuine merriment, despite the serene grandeur and dignity of the presiding power. The day after Hamilton was deserted by his New York colleagues, Franklin, in a characteristic speech, attributed the "small progress made to the melancholy imperfection of the human understanding;" and urgently recommended that the sessions be opened every morning with prayer. The builders were some weeks in hewing their timber after this. All through the hot July and August days the work went on. Washington was a close observer and could give excellent advice, but he was wholly innocent of constructive aptitudes. Madison's far-reaching logic and Rufus King's magnetic efforts were of the first consequence. Gouverneur Morris demolished many impracticable notions. But Hamilton, with less direct agency than some of the others in framing the chief provisions of the structure, was essentially the guide of the workmen. Never untimely obtrusive with his opinions, nor backward about giving expression to them when discussion was in order, he brought all the political systems of the civilized world into grand review, and with deferential, courteous and yet authoritative air compelled the ear of the Convention.

Whenever the frame-work misfitted he came to the rescue. In the early days of September the instrument had so far assumed shape that light began to gleam through the shadows. A committee of five—William Samuel Johnson, Hamilton, Madison, Rufus King and Gouverneur Morris—were appointed to revise its style and the arrangement of its details. Amendments, however, were proposed, discussed and adopted until the very last day of the session. A series of concessions greatly facilitated the final work, some of the most prominent of the Framers yielding points for the general good which they had hitherto held with great tenacity. Wash-



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

ington, Franklin, Hamilton and others accepted certain features they did not approve, because they believed it was the best government that the genius of America could frame, or that the nation could be induced to experiment upon. The finishing touches to the document were delegated to Gouverneur Morris, whose graceful pen gave to the substance its order and symmetry, and to the text its distinguishing elegance. Finally, as the delegations came forward in procession to sign the Constitution, Hamilton inscribed upon the great sheet of parchment the name of each state in its regular order.* New York not being regarded as officially present the registry reads: "Mr. Hamilton from New York." During the performance

* This Magazine recently published [X., 178] the portrait of Hamilton.

of this ceremony Madison writes that the irrepressible humor of Franklin found expression in pointing to a sun painted upon the back of Washington's chair, remarking with a smile that painters had generally found it difficult in their art to distinguish a rising from a setting sun. "I have often and often," he continued, "in the course of the session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting; but now I have the happiness to know that it is the rising sun."

Mr. Bancroft says: "The members were awe-struck at the result of their councils; the Constitution was a nobler work than any one of them had believed it possible to devise. They all on that day dined together, and took a cordial leave of each other."

Such an assemblage for such an object the world had never before witnessed. In parliamentary talent and civic wisdom it proved itself superior even to that famous Congress which twelve years before occupied the same hall, and upon which Pitt lavished his rhetoric of praise. When the Constitution was subsequently submitted for the ratification of the several states, the debates in popular meetings and in state conventions summoned to the front every giant mind. But the Framers had built their foundation upon solid rock. They had grasped the principles of freedom and invested them with the breath of perpetual life. They had produced a written instrument—capable of taking in whole sermons between its lines—which was an exact form of government, to be deliberately adopted by the American people themselves, for public administration. The value of their legacy, to a countless posterity, is beyond measurement or expression. The Framers of the Constitution must ever preside in the national memory; and this great and prosperous country is their everlasting monument.

Martha J Lamb

[FOR nearly all the rare portraits illustrating the text of the above article, the Magazine is indebted to the generous courtesy of the eminent and liberal-minded collector, Thomas Addis Emmet.—EDITOR.]

VOL. XIII.—No. 4.—23

BELLOMONT AND RASLE IN 1699

Before me lie two letters, written in a fair and clear hand, on gilt-edged paper, now yellow with age.* They immediately relate to an incident of some historic importance; and they are connected with events which caused great excitement at the time, and which were afterwards interwoven with the strifes of parties in England, and bequeathed one black name to the chronicles of crime. They, moreover, introduce us to two interesting personages, one, the writer of these letters—one of the most accomplished and popular of the royal governors sent over to these colonies—the other, the Jesuit missionary among the Indians, Father Rasle.

The closing part of the seventeenth century was a period of deep gloom in the Northern colonies, on account of Indian wars, heavy taxes entailed by unsuccessful military expeditions, unsettled currency and government, loss or curtailment of chartered rights, and conflict with ruling powers in the mother country, and, to cap the climax of horrors, the outbreak of devilish malice in the form of "witchcraft." It seemed as if the infernal fires were kindling the dusk of the waning century with their lurid light. Another crime, from which some northern seaports were said to derive a clandestine profit, was piracy. In a loose state of international law, privateering easily degenerated into piracy. King William III. made strong efforts to suppress it. The royal Governor of New York, Fletcher, was charged with guilty connivance. A new governor was now appointed, with quite extensive authority, being made the representative of royalty at once in New York, in Massachusetts, which included the province of Maine, and in New Hampshire. The person chosen for this comprehensive office was an Irish nobleman, Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomont. He was appointed in 1695, but remained in England for two years longer. He was puzzled to know which of his governments he ought to visit first; he was told in London that "the merchants and others belonging to New England did little stomach the discourse that had been about the town, of his going first to New York, as if the people of New England (who are the bigger body of people and far more considerable than the others) were thereby slighted." But he went to New York first, arriving there in April, 1698. The voyage had taken him nearly as many months as it now would days.

* The original letters are in the collection of Autographs belonging to the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Before leaving England, he conferred with various persons from America, among whom was Colonel Robert Livingston of New York. The proper means of dealing with piracy were specially considered. Bellomont asked to have a national vessel of war fitted out to chase and seize piratical craft; but the war with France engrossed the whole naval force.

An enterprise was then started which was destined to have unfortunate results. A private vessel of about 270 tons was bought and armed, and sent out with a royal commission, at the expense and for the profit of the "adventurers" in this scheme. Among these were several prominent Whig noblemen, as well as Bellomont and Livingston. Bellomont was especially charged with its outfit. The king was to have one-tenth of the profits of the adventure. The commission authorized the commander of this vessel to act as privateer against the French. A distinct commission relates that certain inhabitants of New England, New York, and other American plantations, have in company with others committed piracy on "the seas in the parts of America and other parts," and authorizes the commander to seize and bring to legal trial all such "pirates, freebooters, and sea-rovers." It was thought that the capture of pirates and their plunder would be a profitable business. Livingston recommended to Bellomont for commander a person whom he had known to be a brave and skillful captain of a privateer, who knew the pirates and their places of rendezvous. This man was appointed to the command, and was to share in the expected gains. The name of the person thus selected to be the agent of English noblemen and ministers of the crown, to share in their enterprise and vindicate the majesty of law on the high seas, was William Kidd. The name had a gentler sound, more suggestive of peaceful and rural associations, than that now.

Kidd sailed from England to New York in 1696, there shipped several new men, making a crew of more than 150, and steered for the Indian ocean, where instead of hunting pirates he turned pirate himself. He waylaid and plundered vessels of different nations indiscriminately on the great highways of commerce in the Eastern seas. Among the spoils I find mentioned opium, coffee, sugar, silk, "callicoes," etc. He returned to New York in 1698. Meanwhile, Bellomont had arrived there, and taken the place of the supposed abettor of piracy, Fletcher. Kidd did not find the opportunity he expected for disposing of his ill-got gains. He deposited some of his treasures at different points on Long Island Sound, let his crew disperse, and soon after appeared in Boston, where we shall meet him by-and-by.

Bellomont entered with energy into his administrative duties in New

York, which were complicated by the misconduct of his predecessors, by recent bitter disputes in that province, and by threatening relations with the French and Indians. He made a pleasant impression by his activity and winning manners, and by the impartiality which arose from his not having been entangled in previous quarrels. He remained there during the greater part of his stay in America, and died there after a short illness, March 5, 1701, lamented, if we may believe the historians of New York, with more than merely official regrets. His remains still rest in that city. He had been in this country a little less than three years.

Of this period, a little more than one year was spent in New England, mostly at Boston. He was the second royal governor of Massachusetts. He reached Boston May 26, 1699, and had a warm welcome, and made friends. A good Churchman, he knew how to conciliate the still dominant Puritanic element, whose hold on the religious sentiment of the town was beginning to be relaxed, as shown by the formation, during the very year that Bellomont was in Boston, of that "Manifesto" church, in Brattle Square, whose venerable edifice so long

—"wore on her bosom, as a bride might do,
The iron breastpin that the rebels threw."

He attended the service of the English Church, and brought over a present of books from the Bishop of London, and an assistant rector. But he was also seen at the Thursday lecture. Owing to his conciliatory course, he won unprecedentedly large grants from the General Court for his maintenance in proper state. He was polite to the country members, and is said to have told his wife, who was much younger than himself, and perhaps wearied of the cares of entertaining company in the provincial capital, "Dame, we should treat these gentlemen well; they give us our bread."

I will venture to quote a few sentences from his first address to the Massachusetts Legislature—sentences courtly and formal, and which must have grated on the ears of some Puritan leaders: "I should be wanting to you and myself too, if I did not put you in mind of the indispensable duty and respect we owe the King for being the glorious instrument of our deliverance from the odious fetters and chains of popery and tyranny, which have almost overwhelmed our consciences and subverted all our civil rights. There is something that is god-like in what the King hath done for us. The works of redemption and preservation come next to that of creation. I would not be misunderstood, so as to be thought to rob God of the glory of that stupendous act of His providence, in bringing to pass the late happy and wonderful revolution in England. His blessed work it

was without doubt, and He was pleased to make King William immediately the author and instrument of it. Ever since the year 1602, England has had a succession of kings who have been aliens in this respect, that they have not fought our battles nor been in our interest; but have been in an unnatural manner plotting and contriving to undermine and subvert our religion, laws and liberties, till God was pleased, by His infinite power, mercy and goodness, to give us a true English king in the person of his present Majesty," etc.

This was rather strong language to apply to a king who was born in the Low Countries, and as Macaulay says, "never became an Englishman"—never, that is, in ideas and feelings. Bellomont's sweeping reproach of the English kings in the century then nearing its close, runs back to the accession of James I., who was no papist if he was an alien, and was a pretty small pattern for a tyrant; and glides silently over the glorious parenthesis of the Commonwealth and its great Protector.

Bellomont had hardly arrived in Boston when our old friend Captain Kidd appeared there, finely dressed in the style of the time, and accompanied by his wife with her maid. He had a somewhat equivocal safe conduct from Bellomont: "If your case be so clear as you have said, you may safely come hither,"* etc. The governor must have laid great emphasis on his *if*; for Kidd was soon arrested, after a show of resistance, and lodged in prison. Bellomont must have felt some responsibility for the captain's career. At the same time his administration was specially pledged to the suppression of piracy.

Before all this, under the rule of Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton, one Joseph Bradish, with some of his men, had been apprehended. He had been boatswain's mate in a vessel sent from London for Borneo, and part of the crew had turned pirates, left the captain and several of the men on an island near Sumatra, and made Bradish their captain. After sharing the profits of several piracies they came to Long Island, and are said to have left part of their treasures there. They next appeared at Block Island, and their ship being suspected as a pirate, two of their men who came to the main-land were seized. The sea-rovers soon deserted their vessel, scattered on shore, and several of them were arrested. Bradish was taken within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and lodged in Boston jail. Just before Kidd was arrested in Boston, Bradish escaped from jail with a companion named Wetherley.

Among his many duties, Bellomont had instructions to inquire into certain grave charges against the Rhode Island government. That uneasy

* See Memorial History of Boston, II., 177.

colony was a thorn in the side of its neighbors; even on the map, Massachusetts looks like a human foot with prolonged toe curving into the hook of Cape Cod, while Rhode Island represents a peg worrying the tenderest part of its sole. Bellomont visited Newport in September, and after his return he wrote, on October 2d, to Governor Cranston, thanking him for his hospitality, and directing the arrest of Bradish, who was thought to have escaped to Rhode Island. He afterward made severe charges against the little colony; and his attack on her administration came near upsetting the government under the charter of 1663; which, however, was destined to last almost a century and a half longer, till it had to yield to changes in the comparative growth of towns and in prevailing political sentiment.

But Bradish was not found in Rhode Island; and only seventeen days after writing to Governor Cranston, Bellomont addressed the following letter to Captain John Hill, commander of the fort at Saco, in the province of Maine:

"Boston, the 19 Oct", '99.

"Capt. Hill, I desire you will not faile to be extreemly secret in the busineses I now commit to you. If Bradish and Wetherley the two Pyrates that escaped out of the Gaol of this town be not taken and brought back by the last day of this moneth, I desire you will then send this Inclosed Letter of mine to the French Jesuit or Fryar that is with the Indians at a Fort called Norocomecock, and that by some very trusty Indian, to whom you must give a double reward, and charge him to deliver my Letter to the Fryar privately, that no body may see him deliver it, if he can. If you manage this matter prudently, I doubt not but Bradish and his companion will be retaken and brought back; and your chief care must be to keep it secret that I have writ to the Fryar, wherein you will oblige

Your friend and servant

Bellomont."

The inclosure is as follows:

"À Monsieur le Père Missionnaire à Norocomecock.

"de Boston, ce 19^e Octobre, '99.

"Monsieur, L'on me donne avis aujourd'hui que deux Pyrates Anglois, nommez Bradish et Wetherley, qui se sont eschappez hors de la prison de cette ville il y a plus de trois mois, se sont retirez au chateau des Indiens appellé Norocomecock, où vous tenez vostre residence à present. Je ne crois pas que vous pretendiez garentir ni couvrir deux scelerats de la main de la Justice: et si vous vous piquez d'en faire de bons Catholiques Romains, je suis seur que vous vous y tromperez, comme je suis persuadé que des Gens comme ces deux-là qui sont capables de Pyraterie (que j'estime le dernier des crimes) se rendroient demain ou Juifs ou Mahometains, pourveu qu'ils peussent se sauver la vie. Vous vous ferez donc plus d'honneur et en mesme temps plus de service au bon Dieu, en faisant renvoyer ces deux scelerats icy à Boston, afin qu'ils reçoivent le chatiment qui leur est dû. Je donneray deux cent escus de Bradish, et cent escus de Wetherley, à celuy qui me les rameneront, et de plus je payeray les frais du voyage. J'ose dire que Monsieur de Callière,

Gouverneur de Canada, vous fera ses remerciements du service que vous ferez au public en m'accordant la grace ou plutôt la justice que je vous demande : peut-estre aussi pourray-je trouver l'occasion de vous en rendre une pareille, quand je ne manqueray pas de vous marquer que je seray,

"Monsieur, vostre très humble serviteur

"Bellomont."

I venture to translate the Governor's French into the King's English :

"To the Missionary Father at Norocomcock.

"Boston, 19 October, '99.

"Sir,

"Information is brought me to-day that two English Pirates, named Bradish and Wetherley, who escaped from the prison of this town more than three months ago, have taken refuge in the post of the Indians called Norocomcock, where you are now residing. I do not think you intend to protect or shelter these two criminals from the hand of Justice. And if you are bent on making good Roman Catholics of them I am sure you will be disappointed ; as I am persuaded that fellows like these who are capable of piracy (which I deem the worst of crimes) would turn Jews or Mahometans to-morrow if they could save their lives by it. You will then do more honor and service to the good God, by procuring the return of these two guilty wretches to Boston, so that they may receive the punishment they deserve. I will give two hundred crowns for Bradish and one hundred crowns for Wetherley, to any who will bring them back, and will moreover pay the expenses of the journey. I dare say that Monsieur de Callière, the Governor of Canada, will thank you for the service you will do the public, by granting me the favor or rather the justice I ask. Perhaps I may find opportunity to return a like service, when I will not fail to show that I am,

"Sir,

"Your very humble servant,

"Bellomont."

There can be no doubt that the "French Jesuit or Fryar" to whom this appeal is made was "Father Rasle"; and that the Indian post was at Norridgewock, Maine, its name somewhat altered. This point is at a bend of the river Kennebec, about ninety miles beyond the fort at Saco, and a hundred and sixty miles this side of Quebec, and on the natural line of travel between the two.

The Jesuit missionaries of the North and West gained great influence among the Indian tribes by their suavity and devotion, aided by all the pageant and ceremonial attractions that were possible in the wilderness. By the English they were regarded with peculiar dislike, as political emissaries, unscrupulous in serving the interests of France, wielding great power over the red men, and not unwilling to renew the horrors of savage warfare, which had hardly yet ceased. Most prominent among them was Father

Sebastian Rasle. He was born in France, and came to Quebec at the age of thirty-two, ten years before the time that Bellomont was in Boston. He lived a while at an Indian village near Quebec, learning the language and customs of the natives, and training himself for his life's work. He was sent in about two years to Illinois, and served as missionary there, and was next assigned to a mission at the settlement of Indians on the Kennebec, near the present town of Norridgewock. Here he lived about twenty-eight years, becoming more and more an object of mingled hatred and dread to the English, till in 1724 he was killed in an attack made by an expedition sent to break up his village. His church was burned, and he fell at the foot of his rude cross. Letters from Canadian officials to Rasle, found among his papers, were said to show that priests were active emissaries of the French government, and aided in its military transactions with the Indians.

In the letter to Rasle, which is in Bellomont's handwriting throughout, we recognize the stately courtesy of his style, and also a chivalrous appeal to the rectitude of an alien and foe. Apart from his easy use of the French language, there is something in its spirit, a generous and cosmopolitan tone, which we cannot easily imagine to have come from either of his immediate predecessors in Massachusetts, the bluff seaman Phips, or the hard and stern Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton—the magistrate whose rulings in the court which tried the “witches” at Salem turned the scale against them, and insured the death of some, and who to the end of his long career never owned that he repented of his part in that wretched delusion. Signatures of the three are now on my desk, and all are characteristic: Phips' illiterate, cramped, almost every letter formed separately; Stoughton's upright, positive, distinct and angular; Bellomont's rotund and flowing, the crossing of his final *t* undulating in a half-flourish, as we may imagine him to have waved his hand in addressing a colonial legislature.

Kidd was at last sent to England, convicted of murder and piracy, and hanged. Bradish was caught (I have not ascertained where), and suffered the same fate. After Kidd's trial, inquiry was made into the relations between him and the “adventurers” by whom he had been started in his career. Certain Whig lords, among them Somers, who had been Lord Chancellor when the adventure was undertaken, were called, but no guilty intent on their part was proved.

Charles W. Parsons.

WORK AS AN EDUCATING POWER

In trying to discover the means by which we can reach the best discipline of our powers, the life of Moses, with its three stadia of schooling, is a fit and convenient model—convenient, because in his case each of the three periods was so prolonged and so distinct from the other two as to enable us to appreciate it with ease and state it with precision; fit, because the purposes subserved by each period had to do with what is essential and permanent in all personal discipline, and is, therefore, as strictly relevant to the substantial matters of life-training to-day as it was in an age and country as far removed as that of Moses and the Egyptians.

The first period, covering his residence in Egypt, was spent by Moses in the discipline of the schools. It was the season in which he accumulated those first materials of wisdom and power, out of which, later on, he molded the words and fashioned the works that have made him forever memorable in both the religious and political history of mankind. His scholarly training was prosecuted in entire unconsciousness of the particular services which that training was, by and by, to be called upon to render, so that his education was not narrowed to the gauge of any sharply defined purpose, but as the years rolled by, and events and opportunities transpired, his purposes were able to enlarge and widen themselves out over all the broad platform of preparation laid for him in a scholarship that was careful, thorough, and comprehensive. His forty years of quiet nurture in the Egyptian schools was succeeded by another forty of retirement amid the sheepfolds and pasture-grounds of Midian. That, too, has its faithful counterpart in every successful life that is lived now and among us. It typifies, perhaps, the quiet measurement of our own powers, and the steady poising of ourselves in preparation for overt act. It prefigures, certainly, that searching scrutiny of the times amid which our own work is to be done, and that affectionate conference with the needs of those times that shall in that way enable current wants to make their own appeal to our powers, stimulate those powers into act, and draw them out upon the line where they can work with most justice to themselves and with richest results to the world. The final stadium of Moses' career, that of his public ministry, was likewise forty years in duration, extending from the Burning Bush to his death and mystic burial upon Nebo at the age of one hundred

and twenty. Having alluded to the educating power of study and the educating power of reflection, our particular concern now is with the educating power of *work*. The Moses that we know is the Moses that was revealed through, as well as consummated by means of, his own personal activities. We shall do well to remember that it was by the discipline of work that his cowardly declination of responsibility at the age of eighty was converted into his triumphant resignation of responsibility at the age of a hundred and twenty. Even when the scholarly facilities of Heliopolis and the reveries and searching inquisitions of Midian had done their utmost for him, he was still but a barren figure-head and a limp possibility, till his accumulated resources of wisdom and energy had felt the weight of heavy events pressing upon them, and until he had become personally mixed in the interests and the movements out toward which his life hitherto had been gradually tending and his heart unconsciously drifting.

In order to develop the matter in hand, we shall specify three ways in which work accomplishes in the worker its educational effects:

1st. Work intensifies power. Work is a sort of voice of command addressing imperiously the scattered ranks of our energies and consolidating them into close and effective phalanx. What is latent it makes patent. It renders to us something the service that the boiler does to steam, which does not develop steam, but so confines and constrains it as to check diffusion, induce concentration, and lead forth energy along a single line of effort. The philosophy of the matter, so far forth, is wrapped in the single word "dissipated," which means scattered as opposed to compacted. We use the term in a special sense of such as have fallen into loose and abandoned habits of life. But there is a meaning underneath in the primary sense of the term richly worth our husbanding. It denotes the unbanding of personal powers and their free evaporation in all directions and at all angles, volatilized into tenuity on every side, instead of bound down into productive pressure on a single side. Herein lies much of the observed difference between men; it is far less disparity of power than it is disparity in the concentration of power, and consequently in the practical efficiency of power. A vast majority of the world's effect is produced by a small minority of its potency of effect. In this sense it is, pretty nearly always, a good thing to get into a tight place. The very pressure of the occasion so crowds our fibrous energies upon each other as to compact them into a solid bar of power. Why, even so stupid a thing as Balaam's ass found an angel when it had gotten itself wedged in between two confining walls. This explains Spurgeon's remark that "difficulty is the raw material out of which to build success." Work gathers a man together;

hard work solidifies him. There is no such thing as striking fire without friction. Men that live on other men are regularly aborted. Drummond has copiously illustrated both the physical and metaphysical effects of parasitism. Parasitic life is degenerative. In the serious relations of life "dead-heading" is the most expensive means of reaching one's destination. It is simple matter of biology that whatever makes an animal's food and security easily attained works in the animal degeneracy. More men are ruined by prosperity than are helped and promoted by it. It would be interesting to know just how many of the most successful members of any one community have had to work and fight their way to success. Few of them probably would have gained success if they had not been obliged to work and fight for it. Work collects a man, girds him, checks dissipation, vaporization. Moses crossing the Red Sea is the same man that was just now supplicating God with craven excuses, only now he is Moses with six hundred thousand Hebrews on his hands, and all his energies reined down to a working purpose. It requires but a small charge to drive a rent clear across and through a ledge of granite, if only there is no surface outlet when it is exploded. "Necessity is the mother of invention," which is but another way of saying that we never know what we can do till we have to do it. Difficulty is one of man's best friends. The longer time a boy has to get his lesson the less he will get it. It is astonishing how quickly Moses found his tongue after he had gotten a great cause on to his hands and heart. At the outset, in deference to his diffidence, Aaron was assigned to be his spokesman; but only a little farther on, when Moses came down from Sinai and beheld the Hebrews at their idolatrous and adulterous orgies, it was Moses and not Aaron that did the talking. To a tongue-tied man like Moses pressure is as good as Pentecost. The effect of honest work of every kind is practically to increase our resources by so marshaling what we already have as to conduct them to a solid issue of effect; and that effect, when we see it, gives to us assurance and sense of power, and draws our energies into closer array for battle that is fiercer and victory more complete.

2d. Work tests our judgments and opinions, reveals their concealed flaws, and shows how much (or little) of our learning is possessed of objective worth. All Egyptian schooling is subject to the corrections of an Arabian campaign. We acquire our permanent lessons in the field. A theory is like a new vessel, upon which we prefer not to take passage until it has made its trial trip. Practical activity is a sieve through which the chaff we gather up with the kernels needs screening. Permanent wisdom is reached by experience, and experience means experiment. All theory has to ap-

peal to practice. The Ptolemaic conception of the universe was good till it was discovered that it wouldn't work—would not go in the ascertained facts without a remainder. No idea can pass as legal tender till it has been indorsed by experiment. And one trouble with our friends, the physicists, is, that they insist on issuing so much paper and throwing it upon the market that has not been certified to. Things never lie in the books exactly as they do in the facts and in the field. An American student said to Dr. Tholuck that he was never going to speak a word of German till he had learned all the rules and could speak it correctly. Experience is revelation. Even speech clarifies thought. A teacher is taught by teaching. Deed is tuitional. "If any man will do he shall know," say the Scriptures. A great many things can be demonstrated in the class-room that require to be reconsidered and corrected outside. *Vis inertiae* is nowhere but in the books. Things do not feel as they look. Calculations have to be corrected for gravity and atmospheric resistance. The physician kills the poor fellow in the hospital by drugging him and cutting him according to the exact phrase of the book. We pay the doctor for giving him the opportunity to learn something from us by treating us. Young ministers derive their creed from their preaching fully as much as they do their preaching from their creed. The theologian will get brains in the seminary, but his theology he will pick up in his pulpit, on his knees, and in the sick chamber. The test of a doctrine is the strain it will bear when set at work in the open air. Cloister piety is without the brawn that would make it a match for the world's brunt. Religion is stalky and fallow unless it spends a good deal of its time out amid the sun and wind, the noise and jostle. The questionable element in clergymen's holiness is that it rarely gets the full perpendicular pressure or side thrust of secular life and contacts. Professional piety is abnormally environed. I wish it were possible for the clergy to get farther into the world and into an appreciation of its experiences, difficulties and exposures. If only it did not spoil them morally it would work a rectification of doctrine and sentiment that would put clergy and laity in a more appreciative and respectful relation. There is a strand of good, practical, sterling sense that can hardly form itself in the character of a Christian except as he lives out in the midst of things and grasps things by their rough and every-day handles. All that is illustrative only. Action quickly detects the weak spot in our school learning. Arabia is indispensable to Egypt and Midian, and it would save a great deal of foolish writing and speaking if there was a law against a man's saying anything about a matter that he had not had a hand in.

3d. Work enlarges our thoughts and hearts by holding us in intelligent relation with the general current of interest to which our own efforts are contributed. The care that every man has to take is lest he contract to the dimensions of the place he occupies while doing his work, or narrow to the size of the particular forms of work he happens to be turning out. The mason can reduce, and without care will be likely to, to the proportions of the brick he is laying, or the manufacturer to the dimensions of the shoe-peg he is making or driving. Men are made near-sighted by continuously scrutinizing what lies close to them. Hardly can anything better be done for men and women of small employment than so to instruct them in the history, principles and wide contacts of their occupation as to show to them the far reach and multiplied relations of that occupation. It is far less the size of the workman's work than it is the felt relations in which that work stands to the general concern that determines whether the workman is to be enlarged or belittled by it. It ought to be recognized by every employer, as his conscientious duty, to see to it that his employes do not dull and deaden into machines in the performance of the tasks that they are paid for doing. A mother may do the commonest kind of things in her home, or teach the letters of the alphabet in tiring reiteration to her little fidgety, frolicking four-year-old; but if it is done with the expectation that he will grow up into man's estate by and by, and that then, by virtue of the intelligence and character that she is just now nurturing, he will possibly be in position to mold the opinions and shape the destiny of the generation in which he will stand, then her thoughts will no longer reduce themselves to the size of the little, dirty, dog-eared primer out of which she instructs him, but be as wide and strong as the beneficent power that the boy, when he becomes a man, will be in condition to exercise. The fly on the window-pane gains vastly in size if we will give it distance, and think of it instead as creeping athwart the sky. There is no brook so small but what, if you will follow it closely down in all its meanderings, it will at last conduct you to the sea. If a man is mixed in some large enterprise like Moses and David, Solomon and Cyrus, then this sense of the broad reach of our work is easy. It is much easier for great men to become greater than it is for average men to keep from becoming smaller. But conspicuous men, and deeds that are *evidently* world-deeds, are infrequent, which must be part of the reason why Scripture is continually putting small acts to the front, to remind us that even such are large enough to come into a volume of divine revelation, and have a world-reference when surveyed by divine eyes. There is a great uplift in feeling that though we do but little, that little is a necessary part of the whole. It serves us as the small

wire serves the telegrapher, which, though small, and lying down in the silence and the dark, is large and nimble enough to let his thought slip along it and across to towns and continents the farther side of the sea. I would have the child taught that every footfall of his changes a little the position of the globe, because that is one of those parables of God outside of Holy Writ from which a larger lesson can be drawn and the child encouraged to feel that he may every day do something that will be a benefit to the one next him, and that in this way his little deed, like his little footfall, will run out and extend till it has at last touched everybody everywhere. There is much that is broadening and quickening in this. We really determine how large our horizon shall be, and lengthen or shorten the diameter of our world at our own individual option. Our largest deed is but small, yet pregnant with large discipline for mind and heart when held steadily in relation with what is present, past and to come, like the little eye-piece of the telescope, through which, nevertheless, we come into conference with the remote features of our own landscape, and even the distant and glowing magnitudes of the sky. And the best of it all is, that this broadened regard not only expands us beyond the confines of our daily routine work, and effects in us new vigor of thought, but draws us away from ourselves, helps to emancipate us from the thralldom of our own particular interest, draws us into near identity with society and the world at large, and so makes the world's cause our cause and its interests our own interests. So far as the press is clean and truthful, bringing before us day by day, as it does, the photograph of scenes that have in the twenty-four hours transpired all along the rim of the world, I would distinctly and gratefully recognize the press as so much chosen enginery of evangelization. It gets us under the burden of other men's burdens. It draws us out in long regards and remote affections, and with stronger enticement than we know allures us into magnificent sympathies, that are computable only in terms of the earth's axis and equator. Here lies a good half of all the value there is in the conferments of thought and prayer and money that we make to the less favored portions of the earth. This is why young people are being taught to contribute of their time and effects to the poor, needy and untutored, whether at home or abroad. It is not the tension of their thoughts simply, nor the money value of their contributions, so much as it is that in their own act and work they pass beneath the splendid discipline of the great world-interests and needs of the times. It gives the necessities and events of the world opportunity to work back upon them in priestly tuition. We are made stalwart by every world-burden that lets its own weight down upon us, and enriched by

every world-distress that through the medium of our act we come into any kind of conference and communion with. So let us turn our eyes out instead of in. Though we have to do little things repetitiously in a small place, let us do them in the strength of the inspiration that flows back upon us from that whole world of which this small place of ours forms a necessary part—something as the Lord had the heart to die on Golgotha, in that in dying there he knew he was dying for the world at large; as the apostles were stimulated to preach in Jerusalem by the contact in which by the terms of the Lord's command their labors there were held with the evangelization of the earth's remotest bounds, and as we are stimulated and empowered to pray for the smaller and closer necessities of daily life by having been taught first of all to pray, "Thy kingdom come."

C. H. Parkhurst

ANCIENT CHICAGO *

And not yet fifty years old! The title of our paper must seem jocose to a foreigner. It is very well for Layard or Rawlinson to write of Ancient Nineveh, or for some Old Mortality to work up the Roman Chester of England, or London Town or Santa Fé or Boston Town. The relics and skeletons, dust, cobwebs and broken slumbers make very entertaining reading, with no violence to our respect for chronology, or denial of our notions about antiquity. We rise up before the hoary head of those old human centers. But this Chicago is an affair of last week, with an antiquary, —the growth of some stray seed from Jonah's gourd. The persons are alive, and yet have business in them, who attended the meeting in 1833 for incorporating this town, and saw the city charter for Chicago granted in 1837 by the Illinois legislature. They can stand yet in the door-ways of their memories, if not of their original log-cabins, and correct the proof-sheets of this chapter on Ancient Chicago.

With a little free play, backward and forward, we propose to keep beyond those two dates of incorporation in this historical study.†

When Marquette, in his Christian mission, lay ill in his cabin, at the Portage de Chicagau and mouth of the Calumet, in the winter of 1674-75, the fur traders came to his relief. They were usually in advance of the explorer and the priest, and they early opened what in railroad parlance is now called the "Chicagou route" between Canada and Louisiana. It was in 1718 when Governor Keith of Pennsylvania sent out James Logan to explore for routes westward to the Mississippi, and of one line he reports thus: "From Lake Huron they pass by the Strait of Michilimackina four leagues, being two in breadth, and of a great depth, to the Lake Illinois; thence one hundred and fifty leagues to Fort Miamis, situated at the mouth of the River Chicagou. This port is not regularly garrisoned." Of the history of this fort there are no extant records yet found, and at the council for the treaty of Greenville, 1795, no Indian could give information concerning its origin.‡

† Since this article was written, the first volume of a valuable History of Chicago, to be published in three volumes, has come to hand. With its aid this article has been revised, and credit has been given in the cases of new information. The work of Mr. Andreas is eminently elaborate, and must have cost much patient, painful and expensive research.

‡ Andreas, I.: 79.

In 1773, one William Murray, an Englishman, residing at Kaskaskia, then so eminent, held a Council there with the chiefs of the Illinois tribe, and purchased of them two immense tracts of land. One of these tracts embraced the most of the grand delta between the Illinois and the Mississippi, with a very large area farther north, and had substantially these boundaries—quite generous, considering the price—from the mouth of the Illinois and up it “to Chicagou or Garlick Creek,” about 275 miles; thence northerly “to a great mountain to the northward of the White Buffalo plain,” about 280 miles; and thence direct to the place of beginning about 150 miles. The outline of the other tract is not at hand. For the two tracts Murray says that the purchase was made “to the entire satisfaction of the Indians, in consideration of the sum of five shillings to them in hand paid,” together with some goods and merchandise. Before the contract was consummated, other Englishmen united with him under the title of “The Illinois Land Company.” The whole affair carries a very modern air, specially with that addition of “other Englishmen,” and illustrates some of the broader processes of to-day in civilizing and Americanizing the Indians. But five years later General George Rogers Clark put that magnificent quadrant between the Ohio and the Mississippi under the American flag, and so swept the acres and Indians of Murray, with his English associates, into the young Union. In 1781, the Company pressed their claims for ratification by Congress, and the Senate entered this opinion in the words of the Committee, which became a precedent: “In the opinion of the Committee, deeds obtained by private persons from the Indians, without any antecedent authority or subsequent information from the Government, could not vest, in the grantees mentioned in such deed, a title to the lands therein described.” These primitive “Indian Contractors” worked their “ring” around Congress till 1797, and then abandoned their project for civilizing the North American Indian. But they made another point in history for Ancient Chicago.*

The earliest trace of any occupant at Chicago is that of Guarie, a Frenchman, the corn-hills of whose cabin patch were traceable in 1818, though overgrown with grass. He located there prior to 1778, and had his hut on the river bank, near where Fulton Street now meets it.†

This was the year in which General Clark, under the sovereign instruction of Virginia, and with a commission signed by Patrick Henry, Governor, conquered from the English the region between the Ohio, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. In October of that year Virginia erected the

* Andreas. I.: 69, 70.

† The Discovery and Conquest of the Northwest. By Rufus Blanchard.

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same into the "County of Illinois in the State of Virginia." Then the laws of the Old Dominion were as sacred at the mouth of the Chicago as at the mouth of the Potomac, and Chicago, equally with Richmond, was in Virginia.

But we have yet to find the first settler in Chicago, though the whole region is occupied by the Pottawatomies. After the treaty of Ryswick, 1697, which divided Hayti and gave the eastern shore to Spain, her colony there languished. The French negroes in it, many of whom were free, educated in France, wealthy, but denied political privileges, grew uneasy, and crossed over to the Louisiana, where they were welcomed by the French and became readily assimilated to the Indians. One of these made his home at Chicago, among the Pottawatomies, in 1779, and remained there till 1796. His name was Baptiste Point De Saible. He was "a handsome negro, well educated and settled at Eschikagou, but much in the French interest." So runs the old record of Colonel De Peyster, then, 1779, British commander at Mackinaw. Another record says: "At a very early period there was a negro lived there, named Baptiste Point De Saible. My brother, Perrish Grignon, visited Chicago about 1794 and told me that Point de Saible was a large man, that he had a commission for some office, but for what particular office or from what Government, I cannot now recollect. He was a trader, pretty wealthy, and drank freely."*

So far as yet appears, De Saible was the sole settler of Chicago for seventeen years, when he sold his cabin and other local interests to Le Mai, a French trader. Other fur traders were there, meanwhile, but only transient, for Burnett, trading on the Kankakee in 1790-91, says: "The Pottawatomies at Chicago have killed a Frenchman about twenty days ago. They say there is plenty of Frenchmen."† As a dwelling-place, therefore, with historic germs, this cabin is the embryo of Chicago and her history proper dates from it.

Yet only in his last three years there was Baptiste on ground fully and absolutely owned by the United States, for the Indian title was not extinguished till the treaty of Greenville, 1795. From the opening of the French war, 1754, the northwestern frontier had been sorely tried and wasted by Indian wars. When General Wayne assumed command over that district, he moved with so much rapidity and force as to gain from the Indians a name translated The Tempest or Big Wind; they probably meant Cyclone. He soon bore down all opposition, and brought twelve of the subdued tribes to the council of Fort Greenville, by the treaty of which

* Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, iii., 292.

† Chicago Antiquities, 57.

an immense region west of the Ohio and south of the Lakes was ceded, as well as a large square embracing each of the military posts, not included in the general cession. This treaty extinguished the Indian title to Chicago and its environs, by these words: "One piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of the Chekajo River, emptying into the southwest end of Lake Michigan." Soon after that region came into American hands, by the treaty of Greenville, there were anticipations and rumors of a garrison at Chicago; and an energetic and adventurous trader thus writes to a Mr. Porthier, a merchant at Mackinaw: "I have reason to expect that they [the garrison] will be over there this fall, and should it be the case, and as I have a house there already, and a promise of assistance from headquarters, I will have occasion for a good deal of liquors and some other articles for that post. Therefore, should there be a garrison at Chicago this fall, I will write for an addition of articles to my order."

The garrison was not long in coming, and no doubt "a good deal of liquors" soon followed. In 1803, Captain John Whistler, of the army at Detroit, was ordered to build and occupy a post at Chicago. From the mouth of the St. Joseph the officers, father and son, with their wives, came down the lake in a row-boat, and so the first two white women entered Chicago. The settlement then consisted of four traders' cabins, the occupants of which were Canadian French, with their Indian wives. The post was named Fort Dearborn, in honor of General Henry Dearborn, then Secretary of War.

The year following, the first white family moved into Chicago. This was John Kinzie, wife, and infant son John H., from the vicinity of Niles, Michigan. He bought of Le Mai the old cabin of De Saible, which he enlarged and improved, and for many years it was the only dwelling of white men in that settlement of now much more than half a million of people. He was properly called the Father of Chicago, and yet he died as recently as 1828, nor, as a city father, did he live long enough to see great results. Three years before he died the village consisted of only fourteen houses—all log-cabins—with a total town tax of \$90.47. The first frame building for business was not built till he had been gone four years.

When Fort Dearborn was built, the government also established, under its guns, an Indian Agency and Trading House for the four nearest tribes, with the purpose that all business between them and the United States, and questions of trouble between the Indians and other parties, might there be peaceably and justly disposed of. It was also the plan of the government to draw, through such agencies, the Indian trade under its own control, and shield the Indians from the corruptions and abuses of the

Indian traders. But the system failed. The agents selected from the East in the way of favor, ignorant of Indian and border life, proved no match for the old border traders and wily half-breeds. An extract from one Report will sample the results:

"An intelligent gentleman, who has just visited Chicago, informed me, July, 1820, that there were goods at that place to the value of \$20,000, which cost more at Georgetown than the traders ask for their goods at the post of delivery; and that the goods are inferior in quality, and selected with less judgment than those of the traders; that only twenty-five dollars worth of furs was sold by the factor at Chicago; that the Government makes no profit on its capital, and pays the Superintendents, factors and sub-factors, and their clerks out of their funds."*

The citation takes us back three-quarters of a century, yet we need not go back the tenth of a decade to find appointments to the border as inapt for the good of the Indian or of the United States. A civil service reform, in our time, with competitive examination of candidates for salaries and chances there, and on such topics as Indian history, Indian nature, habits, and present condition; the scalp dance, green-corn feast, and drunken rows around smuggled whisky, and plots of speculators for making treaties and seizing reservations, would set aside many tide-water applicants, "totally unacquainted with the Indian country." And an extension of this "service reform" to organizations and offices not civil, might stay some from rashly assuming official and public work and honors beyond the Mississippi, who had never yet seen the waters of that river, or even Cincinnati and Chicago.

The early years of this century moved on with a weary sameness by Fort Dearborn. A morning and evening gun could wake the primeval stillness of that far northwest village, where now human voices and the locomotive and mill-whistles and the rattling industries of half a million of people are making a perpetual riot of civilization. Indian bands came and went stealthily and in absolute silence, with moccasin and paddle; packs of peltry and fur made no noise, as red trappers and white traders laid them down on the mud levee of the North Branch and South Branch; Pottawatomies, and Sacs and Foxes, and Kickapoos came in, early and unailing, for their payments; and the "good deal of liquors" of Porthier strengthened their patience in waiting; rarely an immigrant or traveler was challenged by the sentinel at this extreme point of American life; and much more rarely the birth of a child broke the monotony. But the commotion of a storm was soon to put an end to sameness.

* Report on Indian Affairs, to John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, from a Tour made, 1820 By Jedediah Morse, D.D., 48.

Prior to the war of 1812 there was a growing and hostile uneasiness among the Indians of the Northwest of that day. They regarded with anxiety the approaching and constantly aggressive power of the whites, while English influences over the border turned this toward an embittered hostility. Tecumseh, a Shawneese, with his brother, the Prophet, sought to organize a great Indian Confederation against the white movement into the Northwest. To this end he visited all the tribes on the borders of the lakes Michigan, Huron and Superior, and in the South, the Choctaws, Cherokees and Creeks, as well as the tribes bordering on the west bank of the Mississippi. His success was not perfect but formidable, and had not the Prophet precipitated the result, it must have proved most disastrous to our whole frontier. While Tecumseh was in the South his brother brought on the battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811, in which General and Governor Harrison gained the day decidedly, and if the English had not come to the rescue, with aid and comfort, the Confederacy would probably have then come to an end. War with England was declared the next June, Fort Mackinaw was surrendered to the English, and orders were received to abandon Fort Dearborn, which was done on the 15th of August. In conference with the Indians, then surrounding the Fort, it was agreed that this should take effect in mutual peace and safety. But the Indians proved treacherous, and when the garrison and outside families had proceeded but a mile or more, the five hundred Pottawatomies, who had agreed to be escorts, fell murderously upon the small band. Of the company there were sixty-eight soldiers, but a large number were on the sick-list, leaving perhaps forty fighting men. With these were ten or twelve women and twenty children—about one hundred souls. It was hardly an hour's bloody work, and twenty-five of the soldiers and eleven women and children remained, and surrendered. The fight, after the first onset, was hand to hand, and terribly earnest, the women even doing their full share. Hopelessness created desperation, and about fifteen Indians paid the penalty of their faithlessness.

The months were long and painful before it was known who were saved, and who the captives were, and much longer before they were redeemed and restored to kindred and friendly hands. The next day the Fort and the Indian Agency were burned. The day of the massacre was marked, also, in the dark calendar of the frontier, by the surrender of Detroit to the English by General Hull.

For four years the charred remains of the government buildings lay untouched, and the five cabins—all there was of Chicago, as a settlement—stood vacant, and only the wolves cared for the bodies and bones of the

men, women and little ones who perished—more than sixty in all. Fort Dearborn was rebuilt in 1816 and garrisoned with two companies of infantry. One of the first pious acts of the commandant, Captain Bradley, was to gather tenderly such remains of the massacred ones as the elements and wild animals had left, and give them a Christian and sacred rest. One by one the fugitives came back timidly and nervously, as on bloody ground and among graves. Kinzie led the way, and took his old cabin again—the house of Le Mai, and of De Saible.

Very little is to be said of changes in Chicago between the rebuilding of the Fort and 1830. At the latter date Chicago was not born, nor did it by incorporation and organization enter the list of American towns till 1833. Meanwhile a stray explorer or adventurer, and a fugitive fact enable us at this late day to keep trace of the frontier waif; yet much as a handful of ashes in the drifting sands tell where the Arabs camped once or twice. In 1817 the Honorable Samuel A. Storrow, Judge-Advocate of the Army, visited Fort Dearborn, where, he says, "Major Baker and the officers of the garrison received me as one arrived from the moon."

Strangers arriving in that city now do not so surprise it, nor is it as difficult to find it as in those earlier days, when one was liable to miss the trail and pass the town without seeing it, as one incident will show. In 1827 Colonel Ebenezer Childs contracted to supply Fort Howard, Wisconsin, with beef, and left for Illinois or Missouri to purchase cattle, and he says: "We started for Chicago, took the wrong trail and went too far West. * * * We got out of provisions the fourth day. I found an Indian who had a large quantity of muskrats; I bought a number, and had a fine feast. We got the Indian to take us and our baggage across the Eau Plaine in his canoe, making our horses swim alongside. We learned that we had passed Chicago, having gone some fifteen miles to the west. The Indian put us on the right track, and we arrived at Chicago the next morning, pretty well used up."

Three years later Schoolcraft found four or five families there and among them our old friend John Kinzie, whom, in 1822, Charles C. Trowbridge met there. Kinzie was then the agent of the "American Fur Company," that is, John Jacob Astor. The year following is marked by a more distinct and emphatic record. Colonel Long, of perpetual memory on Long's Peak, then spoke of the place as consisting of three log cabins, "inhabited by a miserable race of men, scarcely equal to the Indians from whom they had descended;" their cabins were "low, filthy and disgusting, displaying not the least trace of comfort," and the place "affording no inducement to the settler."

Ebenezer Childs of La Crosse speaks of Chicago, as he saw it in 1825: "At that time Chicago was merely an Indian Agency. It contained about fourteen houses, and not more than seventy-five, or one hundred inhabitants, at the most. An agent of the American Fur Company, named Gurdon S. Hubbard, then occupied the Fort. The staple business seemed to be carried on by the Indians and run-away soldiers, who hunted ducks and muskrats in the marshes."

As to the number of the houses and of the population about this time, there are apparent discrepancies in the authorities. The statements of Mr. Childs apply to 1825, and yet we are informed in 1830 "Surveyor Thompson found seven families only outside of the Fort." The infant settlement was exposed to a second massacre. "In 1828, Indian hostility threatened a general attack on the settlements; but after the murder of a few immigrants, a large volunteer force added to the regulars of Fort Dearborn and Fort Armstrong, at Rock Island, over-awed the savages for the time."

The "Chicago Directory" for 1830 was not a very portly volume. The Commercial and Business sections of it condensed, stand thus: Taverns, two; Indian Traders, three; Butchers, one; Merchants, one. The poll list for the county election that year embraces thirty-two voters.

Religious germs did not appear till the following year, and Mr. Andreas well says: "As a whole the Chicago of 1831 could not have been considered a pious town." The Methodists were first on the ground, as is usual on the frontier, always excepting the Jesuits, where there are Indian and Canadian villages. Protestantism would spread more rapidly and vigorously if its adherents were as faithful as the Catholics in carrying their religion always with them. The quality of the two forms of Christianity is, of course, another matter, but they carry their best.

The opening of the School System in Chicago is quite romantic. In 1810 a spelling-book found its way to this lone village in a chest of tea from Detroit, and came into the already historic house of Baptiste Point De Saible, then occupied by Kinzie. In the family was a son, John H., and his cousin, Robert A. Forsyth, afterward paymaster in the United States Army, who assumed the position of instructor. The teacher was thirteen years old, his pupil six, the course of study, this spelling-book, and the school-building was the "Kinzie House."

While these varied items of fur trade, fighting and education were working into a thread of history on that section of the "Chicagou route" between Canada and the Louisiana, the coming civilization was agitating the Northwest Territory. Immigration had made its trail along the borders of the lakes, had quite generally prospected the valley of the Ohio, and ex-

tended to the Mississippi. As early as 1802, Kentucky, Tennessee and Ohio, were in the Union. In 1809 the northern boundary of the Illinois Territory was run due west from the southern point of Lake Michigan, which left Chicago, the Kinzie boy, and his spelling-book of the next year, in Wisconsin Territory. After the rebuilding of the Fort, Astor's fur-trading schooner began to visit the lonely town, sitting there among innumerable water fowl, once or twice a year. Excepting canoes and batteaux, this was the only water craft that greeted it for many years. In 1818 Illinois came into the Union and Chicago came back into Illinois. Between 1830 and 1836 there entered the town in close and tumultuous succession, the usual staples of a young, and of course, ambitious, frontier settlement—a post-office and town incorporation, several denominational religions by organization, a newspaper, a stage line, Indian raids, rude bridges, critical foot-walks, a land office, and a Canal Company incorporated in 1825. The capital of it was \$1,000,000, while the total valuation of all the land within the present city limits was under \$25,000; and the town effected a loan of \$60.00 for street improvements. In 1880 the valuation of Chicago was \$115,003,561; its taxes were \$3,829,618, and its bonded debt \$12,752,000. Scientific accuracy finds a striking illustration in this canal project. Five routes for it were surveyed between Lake Michigan and the Illinois; the lowest estimate of construction was \$639,946, and the highest \$716,110, and government made a land grant way of 284,000 acres; in March, 1843, the enterprise collapsed, after an expenditure of \$5,139,492.03. It was a State project, though Chicago was eminent in it, and, in the year of incorporation, had fourteen taxpayers only, with an aggregate tax of \$94.47. The project was even national, for President Madison had recommended it by Message in 1814. The same project gains a notice in the "St. Louis Directory and Register" for 1821: "In the course of a few years the Illinois river will be, most probably, connected with Lake Michigan." Also municipal regulations came in over the seven taverns, that they should not charge more than twelve and a half cents for a lodging or for a half pint of whisky, or more than twenty-five cents for a breakfast, or half pint of brandy, or rum, or wine, or for a supper. It is said that under present regulations the annual cost to Chicago for liquors is \$32,082,750, with a salesroom for every one hundred and sixty persons.

Immigration came around the end of Lake Michigan in tidal waves. The winter of 1831-2 is still carried in the memories of some, and history will never forget it. Four hundred immigrants were quartered in the Fort, and as the intense cold, the Indians and the wolves closed in on the scat-

tered settlers, the entire body of the inhabitants followed the immigrants. The summer and General Scott raised the siege, when the cholera fell on them, coming with the stately General on the first steamer that ever entered that port.

The pulse of speculative life, that throbbed violently to the eastward of Lake Michigan, affected the finances of this young town. The Erie Canal had made a splendid success, and brought the Atlantic Ocean four hundred miles nearer; Ohio had rushed in growth; steamers were puffing on inland waters which canoes had hardly abandoned, and the railroad era had opened in the seaboard States with almost unlimited fancies of sudden wealth. Land values became fabulously increased on an infinite frontier of acres; thousands of miles of railroad were projected as into void space; the work and growth and fortunes of the next generation were anticipated, and telescopic values were put on front lots and corner lots and water lots about the lower end of Lake Michigan. Chicago went crazy when steamers came in, and railroads promised to do it. She did not then know that the Mississippi Valley has more than forty rivers navigable to the extent of more than 15,000 miles, and could possibly postpone the railroad era. Immigration flooded the city; between April and September, 1834, a hundred immigrant vessels landed their burdens of men hungry and famishing for land, while the procession in carriage and saddle and on foot was continuous; and in twelve months the population went up eight-fold. So rife was speculation that the town could not borrow \$2,000 at ten per cent. Real money disappeared at the land office, where only it availed for land, and at a dollar and a quarter an acre, and promissory notes and collaterals and various wild paper flooded the market.

Meanwhile the average American, with his love of law and order, was there, and gambling houses, Sabbath breaking, liquor saloons, and shooting within town limits were prohibited, and officials were required to give bonds. The land fever and the frenzy of speculation increased in wildness till 1837. A crash then came, as a cyclone comes, only that it was of immense advantage to Chicago in bringing it to its senses and to old-fashioned realities. In the year preceding, and before the town "came to itself," its exports, total, were \$1,000.64, and its imports were \$325,203.90, and it was not till 1842 that as much was shipped off as was received, when the population was 6,590.

Nothing could repress the city; reverses and checks could only consolidate it. The position was a foreordination to growth and greatness, and its success was inevitable and irresistible. Its splendid future was made evident and obvious when the canal was opened in 1848 from the

city to the head of navigation on the Illinois, and a railroad with the East in 1852. Chicago was naturally located at one of the few rounding points in the highways of the world, and yet a thousand miles inland. These two grand connections with the business world—canal and rail—especially the one by rail, admitted it to that family of cosmopolitan cities, any one of which is a center for the trading nations. The locomotive, that so ignores locality and makes the world migratory, made the city permanent when it arrived; and it occasioned the pithy remark that “up to 1852 nobody residing in Chicago considered himself permanently settled.”

In 1833, half a century ago, a citizens' meeting was convened to incorporate the town. The total number of legal voters was twelve, and against one negative the incorporation was secured. One of the first town ordinances was to prohibit live pigs in the streets. In 1880 Chicago handled, through her streets, 7,059,355 of them, besides 39,091 barrels of dressed pork.

The first white settler, Marquette, spent a winter there, and supplied his family market with buffalo, deer and turkey, shot from his own cabin door. In 1880, Chicago had for disposal, and not to mention other meats, 1,382,477 beef cattle.

On the 6th of May, 1635, the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed the following law: “It is ordered that it shalbe lawfull for Mr. Leveredge to transporte ten bushells of corne out of this jurisdiccon, notwithstanding any former order to the contrary.”* At this time the region of Chicago was a good thousand miles into the absolutely unknown West. Marquette and La Salle were yet unborn. It is yet, then, in the Massachusetts General Court, thirty-five years before the first white man, La Salle, shall see the present site of Chicago. In 1880, Chicago, with no permit from any court, exported 93,500,000 bushels of corn. For six months, ending with October, 1880, the receipts of corn averaged more than one thousand cars of 24,000 pounds each for every working-day—that is, there came into the city 428,571 bushels of corn a day. In 1837 the water works of Chicago consisted of a hogshead on wheels, with bucket and faucet, for any one who would hail the wandering cistern, the same as the writer found in Leadville in 1880. Now Chicago lifts Lake Michigan as a goblet to her half million of pairs of thirsty lips.

Andreas gives a good pen-picture of the town as it appeared in the year of its incorporation:

“The village was built along the south side of Water Street, and

* Records Mass. Bay Colony, I: 148.

westerly toward the settlement at the forks. There were scattered shanties over the prairie south, and a few rough, unpainted buildings had been improvised on the north side, between the old Kinzie House and what is now Clark Street. All together, it would, in the light of 1833, have represented a most woe-begone appearance, even as a frontier town of the lowest class. It did not show a single steeple, nor a chimney four feet about any roof. A flag-staff at the Fort, some fifty feet high, flaunted, in pleasant weather and on holidays, a weather-beaten flag as an emblem of civilization, patriotic pride, national domain, or anything else that might stir the hearts of the denizens of the town. The buildings of the Fort were low-posted, and none of them exceeding two stories in height."

The first frame house for business had been built only the year before, and the first for religious and educational purposes, in part, this same year of town organization. In a private letter to the author, the Rev. Dr. Jeremiah Porter says: "There was not a framed dwelling house in town in May, 1833, and only three framed stores." The population at the time of incorporation was about two hundred and fifty, in which were eight physicians and six lawyers, and nevertheless the population increased in numbers and grew in prosperity. The second hotel, built expressly for such use, the Tremont, was added to make this year eventful, and yet so rural was Chicago then that its guests could lounge on its steps and shoot wild fowl in the slough before the door.

These glances at ancient Chicago would not be perfect if one scene were omitted. In 1831, about four thousand Indians surrounded the town with their wigwams, and covered the lake, shores and creeks, with their canoes, and trailed their blankets along the walks of the village. They were laden with their arms and paint, but carried no extra friendliness in their looks and manners. It was pay-day on the border, and the United States officers were there to pass over the annuities. The outside farmers, and the villagers, too, might be excused for some nervousness, for Black Hawk's band had recently gone quite unwillingly to the west of the Mississippi, and it was known that emissaries from it were among the four thousand to beget a bloody outbreak. The September skies were peaceful and balmy, and yet it was an apt time for the hurricane. Had the Indian tornado burst on them, they well knew that their two hundred men, women and children would have gone like leaves before the whirlwind of four thousand. It was almost ready, but did not burst till the next year, and the haughty, angered and drunken braves took their annuities and went off, moody and disappointed that they had no scalps to carry back. We can appreciate the scene and anxieties from our experience at Keokuk

ten years later. It was when that town consisted of twelve log and two frame houses that we were detained there some days. The Iowa Territory Indians were there in multitude, and were proving the thirteen saloons in those twelve log houses—one double—while their head-men were gone down to St. Louis for their annuities. In later years we found it another affair, and wholly agreeable to spend some time with twenty-five hundred in a great Indian fair at Muskogee, in the Indian Territory.

The year 1833 was an important one for the town in many respects, and, indeed, it might be said that Ancient Chicago was terminated by it. We have, therefore, tarried in collecting items which would show it at that time, and now turn, for a moment, to private and unpublished papers for still more. Our correspondent had been about two years post chaplain at Fort Brady, Sault St. Marie, outlet of Lake Superior. "We sailed," he writes, "from the Sault, May 4th, 1833; found no settlement on the western shore of Lake Michigan, except the trading post of the American Fur Company at Milwaukee; reached the anchorage off Fort Dearborn, Sunday morning, May 13th. No harbor, and sea so rough we could not go ashore that day, and lay seasick in our berths. * * * Major Fowle had prepared for me a preaching place in Fort Dearborn, there being none but a log school-house in town. That was the carpenter's shop. In it I preached the first Sabbath morning, May 20, 1833, from the words: 'Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit.' * * * Mine was the first church ever organized at Chicago since the creation of the world, and on the 26th of June, 1833, by adopting the confession of faith of the Presbytery of Detroit—the nearest to us. * * * By the first of January, 1834, I preached the dedication sermon of our house of worship. It stood 'way out on the prairie,' between where now stands the Sherman House and Lake Street. * * * In an unfinished loft of one of the three framed houses was my bedroom and study, and, for a time, Sabbath-school room. * * * Wisconsin, Iowa, and all the Northwest were then the abode of wild Indians."

Dr. Porter adds an item which should be expanded to complete the view of our Ancient Chicago. Among the wasting remnants of our Indians there probably are not enough now, within any single call, to repeat the scene. He says: "Five thousand Indians, assembled, came to make terms of surrender of Illinois and Wisconsin lands, for others west of the Mississippi River." * * * "The council was held on the prairie on the north side of the river, in front of my study window, and in plain view." This was the gathering for the great Indian Treaty of 1833, under which the nutted Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawatomie Indians were moved to the

eastern bank of the Missouri in the region of Council Bluffs, and the United States took their abandoned lands in Illinois and Wisconsin—about five millions of acres. The same number were accorded to these Indians for their new home. It might as well have been fifty millions; for it was a nominal affair with the chiefs, when they signed the treaty with their "mark," feasted and drunken by the other "high contracting party;" and when Iowa and other western growths pressed on them, like high tides, they were lifted, as waifs, and thrown farther.

A few graphic passages from Charles J. Latrobe, an English traveler, and an honored guest at the Council, will best show us the neighbors, Indian and white, to the minister's study on that occasion. The Indians "were encamped on all sides—on the wide, level prairie beyond the scattered village; beneath the shelter of the low woods which chequered them; on the side of the small river, or to the leeward of the sand-hills near the back of the lake. * * * The little village was in an uproar from morning to night, and from night to morning; for during the hours of darkness, when the housed portion of the population of Chicago strove to obtain repose in the crowded plank edifices of the village, the Indians howled, sang, wept, yelled and whooped in their various encampments. With all this, the whites seemed to me to be more pagan than the red man. * * * Far and wide the grassy prairie teemed with figures—warriors mounted or on foot, squaws and horses. Here a race between three or four Indian ponies, each carrying a double rider, whooping and yelling like fiends. There a solitary horseman, with a long spear, turbaned like an Arab, scouring along at full speed; groups of hobbled horses; Indian dogs and children; or a grave conclave of gray chiefs seated on the ground in consultation. * * * Emigrants and land speculators, as numerous as the sand; you will find horse-dealers and horse-stealers, rogues of every description, white, black, brown and red; half-breeds, quarter-breeds, and men of no breed at all; men pursuing Indians claims; sharpers of every degree; peddlers, grog-sellers, Indian agents and Indian traders of every description, and contractors to supply the Pottawatomies with food. * * * The quarters [in Fort Dearborn] were too confined to afford place of residence for the Government Commissioners, for whom, and a crowd of dependents, a temporary set of plank huts were erected on the north side of the river. * * * It is a grievous thing—the shameful and scandalous sale of whisky to these poor, miserable wretches. But here lie casks of it, under the very eye of the Commissioners, met together for purposes which demand that sobriety should be maintained. * * * The council fire was lighted under a spacious, open shed on the green meadow on the

opposite side of the river from that on which the fort stood." The position of the two parties in the council lodge was most significant, though, of course, not intended to be so. "The glorious light of the setting sun, streaming in under the low roof of the council-house, fell full on the countenances of the former [the whites], while the pale light of the east hardly lighted up the dark and painted lineaments of the poor Indians, whose souls evidently claved to their birthright in that quarter."* The positions of the two parties in this grand Indian council at Chicago on that September day, 1833, was painfully and sadly historic and prophetic. The Indians looking eastward and backward and despondent, and the white man looking westward and forward and ardent—that is the history of the two races in this country. On the Indian side the Treaty has the following indorsement: "The undersigned, chiefs and head men of the said nation of Indians, have hereunto set their hands at Chicago the said day and year, September 26th, 1833." Then follows the signature of seventy-seven Indian names, and against each "his x mark." It is safe to say that the Chicago Board of Trade never did so much business on one day as was done on this day.

The post-office is a good index to the state of a community, and the first one of Ancient Chicago was characteristic of frontier America. In that hard winter of 1831-2, memorable in the history of the present magnificent city, a tough half-breed went on foot, once a fortnight, to Niles, Michigan, ninety miles away, to carry and bring the mail. Though this date is so recent in our national annals, it should be noticed that no steamer had yet touched at Chicago. Only light sails, Mackinaws, birches, and pirogues had then rounded Wolf Point, the angle of land between the North and South Branch. The year following, 1832, the first steamboat arrived at Chicago, bringing the stately General Scott to take a hand in the Black Hawk war, already well over, and the Cholera came with the General. This same year witnessed the appointment of a new postmaster of the prophetic city, like Paris, rising from the mud. Postmaster Hogan signalized his administration, and, no doubt, made political capital, by two improvements on the half-breed arrangement. He secured a weekly mail on horseback from Niles, and inaugurated the private box system. This consisted of a row of old boots, nailed to the rude log walls, bearing the name of such as had a heavy correspondence. The occasional letter was served in a more democratic way, even much later, as a private letter informs me. "My husband, A. D. Reed, of Boston, came out to Illinois in

* The Rambler in North America, 1832, 1833. By Charles Joseph Latrobe. Two volumes. Vol. ii. Letter xi.

October, 1837, on horseback in company with Col. Porter, from Rochester. They were prospecting for the purpose of locating and investing in lands. Stopping at Chicago, they inquired at the post-office for letters, and the letters were turned out of a bushel basket on a table. Among these they searched for any that might belong to them."

This is somewhat in contrast with the Chicago post-office of to-day. An official statement, given me on request, under date of August, 1883, furnishes the following facts: Number of letters, postal-cards, and circulars dispatched daily, 255,000; printed matter and merchandise, 55,000 pieces; second-class matter, 69,000 pieces. Here is the daily dispatch of 379,000 pieces of mail matter, with aggregate weight of 38,250 pounds. All this went off in 2,200 canvas sacks and 640 lock-pouches. Added to this amount of mail matter, originating in Chicago, there went through the office daily mail matter in transit to the amount of 120,000 pounds, or 60 tons. According to this statement, Chicago sends off annually 598 tons of mail matter of her own furnishing, and sends forward 2,208 tons that is in transit from other places.

In the money order department of the office, it received, for the year ending June 30, 1883, for order and deposits, \$9,630,936.40. The disbursements for the same time for orders paid and transfers were \$9,630,250.69.

At the date of statement the number of lock-boxes, not old boots, was 328, and the number of clerks and letter-carriers was 712.

This weight of mail is marvelously in excess of the fortnightly burden of the half-breed carrier. The 712 employés are in excess by more than two hundred of the total population of Chicago, made up of fur-traders, tavern-keepers, garrison men, daring outside settlers, and lingering emigrants two years after Postmaster J. S. C. Hogan took his office. It would have required many scores of blanketed Pottawatomies and Black Hawk spies to carry up the population to the present number of post-office men. The tramping and hurrying procession through the corridors and halls of the present office, with the clicking of lock-boxes and the calls at the general deliveries, is strongly in contrast with Hogan's log-room and boot-boxes. Mr. Reed would hardly recognize his bushel basket in the present edifice.

Our Eastern friends of the basket post-office had a fancy to feed their two saddle horses with oats, while they took refreshments "at a rude kind of building" called a tavern, and prospected the village for possible investments. "They inquired for oats to feed their horses, and were informed that none were to be had in town, which circumstance decided them to ride on, and probably prevented their making a profitable investment in land there." However, Mr. Reed thought better of the oatless town, and

afterward returned to permanent residence there, and must have been satisfied finally in the call for his favorite grain; for in the year he died there, 1876, Chicago received 23,490,915 bushels of oats. Here were oats enough to bait ninety-four millions of horses with a peck apiece. That is more than thirteen times the number of all the fed horses in the United States at the last census. When in later years Mr. Reed was president of one of the Chicago banks, he found his mail better served than by the early method of bushel baskets.

It was in 1846 that Sir Robert Peel predicted in Parliament that two towns in interior America would, by and by, rival Odessa and Dantzic in the grain market of the world, and he mentioned Chicago and Milwaukee. Those towns had never before been spoken of in Parliament, and were quite unknown to some geographical experts in that body. To the whispered question, what he called them, the answer was the quite indefinite one: "Some Indian places." The remark of Sir Robert takes on almost the sublimity of a prophecy of one of the ancients. Eminent Americans have been quite as uninformed about our western growth as were the English experts. In 1835, the Rev. Dr. Joel Hawes, of Hartford, had a call to the First Presbyterian Church in Chicago. "When Dr. Hawes received the letter of invitation, he took it to Judge Williams of his church, and said: 'I've got a letter from some place out West, called Chick'-a-go, asking me to come there and preach. Can you tell me where it is?' Having learned that it was in a great swamp back of Lake Michigan, he thought it best not to remove."*

Only eight years before Sir Robert's prophecy, certain shippers of hides in Chicago had, with much daring and timidity, made a venture for a market by exporting forty-four sacks of wheat, seventy-eight bushels. In 1880 that "Indian place" exported, by land and water, 22,796,288 bushels of wheat and 2,862,737 barrels of wheat flour, making a total aggregate for one year of 35,678,604 bushels of wheat. †

It is doubtless without precedent in the annals of the world that a city of half a million has sprung up so suddenly on the camping ground of a conquered and retreating people. In Old World times smoldering cities have been left in the track of invading armies, but in the New World hamlets, villages and cities are planted by the invasion. To mark off to-day,

* Historical Sermon by the Rev. John H. Barrows, D. D. Fiftieth Anniversary, First Presbyterian Church of Chicago.

† Wheat ranges from four to six bushels to a barrel of flour, according to the grade of the wheat and of the flour. The above estimate is on the average of 1879, which was four and a half bushels to the barrel.

among magnificent blocks of merchantmen and mansions of merchant princes, the camping ground of those Indians, would be to thousands in Chicago as a story of Sindbad the Sailor, or as an interlined and dubious chronicle of Alfred the Great, or of one of the early Henrys. No wonder that Gladstone said of the United States in their growth that "America is passing us by in a canter."

Mention has been made of the first teacher in Chicago, with his one pupil and text-book. That was in 1810. A more formal yet private school followed in 1816. Immediately following the Black Hawk war, in 1832, another school was opened in a building twelve feet square, once a stable, with "old store boxes for benches and desks." In the first quarter Mr. Watkins, the proprietor, had twelve pupils; "only four of them were white; the others were quarter, half, and three-quarter Indians." Billy Caldwell, the Pottawatomie chief, offered to pay for tuition, books, and clothing of so many Indian children in the school as would adopt the dress of civilization, but not one accepted his offer. The dress was the obstacle. About this time a Miss Chappel left her school at Mackinaw, and opened one in Chicago, with a Miss Mary Barrows as assistant. At last accounts Miss Chappel, as Mrs. Jeremiah Porter, was teaching at Fort Sill in the Indian Territory.

Two years afterward, Mr. G. T. Sproat, from Boston, opened an English and Classical school, and a recent letter from one of his assistants gives a good idea of Chicago at that time—1834. "I used to go across without regard to streets. It was not uncommon in going to and from school to see prairie wolves, and we could hear them howl any time in the day. We were frequently annoyed by Indians, but the great difficulty we had to encounter was mud. No person now can have a just idea of what Chicago mud used to be. Rubbers were of no account. I purchased a pair of gentlemen's brogans and fastened them tight about the ankle, but would still go over them in mud and water, and was obliged to have a pair of men's boots made."

It will give a tolerable idea of the growth of settlement to-day going on, a thousand miles or two beyond Chicago, in log houses and mud towns, among Indians and prairie wolves, if we notice what changes fifty years have wrought around Fort Dearborn and Wolf Point. In 1882 the Kinzie boy, with his spelling-book from the tea-chest, would find 110,466 school-mates, as those of legal school age in Chicago. Of these he would notice that 32,038 were attending private schools, as was he in 1810. Master Robbie Forsyth, the teacher, thirteen years old, would find himself in competition with 1,019 public school-teachers. When Miss Warren drew on

gentlemen's boots and went wading back and forth cross lots, the primitive order does not seem to have reached Chicago: "Let the dry land appear;" but the work of creation has since been completed there, and Chicago has ceased to be amphibian.

In setting forth Ancient Chicago, we made its first human habitation our resting-place and our study; and now, in conclusion, let us go back to its threshold to take farewell.

It is the first house built in Chicago, and by De Saible, a Domingoan, in 1779. Monarch of all he surveys from its low door-way, and solitary for seventeen years, he sells out to Le Mai, who keeps it open to Indians and furs for eight years, when John Kinzie buys him out in 1804, the first American in the town, though born in Quebec. Kinzie still keeps it as a place for Indian barter till the massacre of 1812. Then for four years it stands open and vacant for the winds and the wild animals, till the owner cautiously and sadly returns. All about and in sight from its forsaken door-way are the ghastly remains of the massacre. Here the first white child is born in the city of to-day, and in 1823 becomes, under the same roof, the first bride. Of all the joyous weddings in that now populous city, the first was within those log walls; and the same year its occupant, as probably the first justice of the county, held the first court in Chicago under its roof. Four years later it was vacated by Justice Kinzie, who moved across the river to a little house under the walls of the Fort, where he died in 1828. In 1831 it was occupied by Bailey, as the first postmaster in that prophetic town; probably thus early on its floor the basket of mail matter was emptied, and later its walls were decorated with those boot letter-boxes by his successor and son-in-law, Hogan. It was easy of access, thirty rods from the lake, on the north bank of the river and opposite the Fort, with a canoe or skiff or pirogue ferry between, free to any one who could handle paddle or oar, and half a mile or so down the river from Wolf Point. The bridges and draws, innumerable and intolerable, were yet to come. After 1832, says Andreas, "there is no record of its being inhabited. Its decaying logs were used by the Indians and emigrants for fuel, and the drifting sands of Lake Michigan were piled over its remains. No one knows when it finally disappeared."

W. Barrows

JEFFERSON AS A NATURALIST

If the words with which La Bruyère began his famous book were ever true of any subject, one might be pardoned for thinking that of Thomas Jefferson, at least, "everything has been said." Few, outside the purely literary class, have left behind them so large a collection of writings from which each student may form his own estimate of the man; and few, if any, Americans have attracted so many biographers. The hero-worship that began with the publication of a "Life" by Prof. Tucker in 1837 has been continued by sufficiently many later writers, the relatives and partisans of Mr. Jefferson; while the diatribe poured forth in 1839 by Theodore Dwight has also found its numerous successors. Finally, the admirable work, but recently written by John T. Morse, Jr., weaving together, as it does, whatever of truth can be found scattered along these two lines of biography, seems to give a portraiture so essentially just, that nothing more need be said.

But is it quite so? All who have written of the "Author of the Declaration" have, of course, dwelt chiefly on his public services and political doctrines. But those who have familiarized themselves with Jefferson's writings, more especially his voluminous correspondence, need not to be told that, aside from his natural aptitude for statesmanship and political theorizing, he had a marked predilection for the study of science. One biographer, indeed, has even ventured to assert that if circumstances had not drawn him into public life, he would probably have been a professional scientist. Others, while very justly denying this, have not failed, when making any pretensions to complete biography, to call attention to the scientific side of his character, although the nature of their purpose forbade their putting any particular emphasis upon this point. The object of the present paper is to attempt to bring out in brighter colors and more prominent lines a minor, but not uninteresting, portion of the general picture. At this late day any addition of biographical material is not, perhaps, to be expected, but it is believed that a brief consideration of Jefferson as a naturalist will prove not wholly unprofitable; because one will thus get a view of an always interesting character from a new angle, and more especially because it will show what a crude state of development the natural sciences were in, less than a century ago.

His more or less practical knowledge of surgical anatomy, civil engineer-

ing, physics, mechanics, meteorology and astronomy might be sufficiently, and even tediously, shown by copious quotations from his writings. During his five years' residence in Paris as American Minister he was in constant correspondence with Rittenhouse and all the eminent scientists on this side the ocean, and he kept no less than four colleges—Harvard, Yale, William and Mary, and the College of Philadelphia—informed of whatever discoveries and inventions were made known in the scientific circles of Europe. But perhaps the versatility of the man is best illustrated by an incident that occurred later in life. Stopping one night at a Virginia inn, he passed several hours in conversation with a fellow-guest, who had indeed heard of the great statesman, but did not recognize him on that occasion. After Mr. Jefferson retired, his companion of the evening eagerly asked the landlord who it was with whom he had been conversing. "For," said he, "when he spoke of law, I thought he was a lawyer; when he spoke of mechanics, I was confident he was an engineer; when he referred to medicine, I had no doubt he was a physician; and when he discussed theology, I was convinced he was a clergyman." The inquirer was, of course, greatly surprised to learn that the gentleman of such many-sided activity was one whom he had always known as a politician.

But while thus at home in many departments of pure and applied science, it was in natural history that he was most interested, and as a naturalist he made his only original contributions to scientific knowledge. The reason for it is not far to seek; it was the combined result of heredity and early training. His maternal grandfather, Isham Randolph, was a man more than ordinarily learned in the science of botany—at least for those times—as is sufficiently proved by the kindly words written of him by his friend, John Bartram, who founded the first botanic garden in America, and whom Linnæus called the ablest natural botanist in the world. From this ancestor Jefferson inherited his strong sympathy with living nature; and the hereditary tendency was easily strengthened by the peculiar circumstances of his education. Of his early instructors the one who put the firmest stamp on the forming mind was Dr. Small, of Scotland, whose daily intimacy with his young pupil seems to have been much closer than is usual in such relations. The widely diversified knowledge which Scotch universities give their graduates has often been remarked, and of this diversity Dr. Small had his full share; so that, although a professor of mathematics, he lost no opportunity of giving instruction to his youthful friend in all branches of natural science. That he was well qualified to inspire in young Jefferson a vigorous love for nature and the study of natural phenomena one might readily infer, even without other evidence, from his

intimacy, during a subsequent residence in England, with the once famous Erasmus Darwin.

This taste for scientific study, derived as we have seen from two sources, Jefferson himself has frequently spoken of in his correspondence. Writing to M. Dupont de Nemours, he says: "Nature intended me for the tranquil pursuits of science, by rendering them my supreme delight;" again, to T. M. Randolph, Jr., speaking of the pleasures of a naturalist's life, he writes [July 6, 1787], "Circumstances have thrown me into a very different kind of life, and not choice;" and again in a letter [March 7, 1791] replying to Mr. Innes, he says, "Your first gives me information in the line of natural history, and the second promises political news. The first is my passion, the last my duty, and therefore both desirable."

In following the course of his life the first evidence of his acquirements in natural science that we reach is in the "Notes on Virginia," written in 1781-'82. The amount of erudition and practical scientific knowledge displayed in that work would be considered surprisingly large for any American of that day, even if he had devoted a long life to special researches. But Mr. Jefferson was then a comparatively young man, and his life up to that date had been far too busy for the prosecution of special study in science. As a student he devoted fifteen hours a day to studies bearing directly on the profession of law, and his hours of recreation were fully occupied, as we know, with the dances in the Apollo and the many festivities of Virginia's hospitable homes; while, during the Revolutionary period, his hand and head were constantly employed in the service of his State and nation. But somehow during those years, so crowded with events, he had acquired nearly all the knowledge the world then possessed of geology and zoology. Buffon, Daubenton, Zimmerman, Blumenbach, Linnæus, Kalm, Catesby and Cuvier, were among those with whose works he was familiar. Nor was his knowledge of books alone; he had, for those times, a very fair knowledge of the geological formation of his native State, and as an authority on the animal life of North America he was then probably without any superior. Many of the theories advanced in the "Notes on Virginia" modern science has long since rejected; but in some of his conclusions Mr. Jefferson was quite in advance of the best specialists of the age, and notably so in the department of paleontology.

When the "Notes" were written, and indeed for many years thereafter, palæontology had no real existence as a science. The petrifications discovered in the earth's strata had indeed from the earliest times attracted the attention of the wisest thinkers, but no complete theory of their origin had yet been sufficiently demonstrated to secure general acceptance.

Linnæus had classified fossil remains among the minerals; some regarded them as mere freaks of nature; some as patterns which the Deity had made to guide him in fashioning the perfect form; and even some of the best informed among orthodox people strenuously maintained that they were proofs of the Noachian deluge. From the grossest of these errors men of science were of course free, but the best *savants* had not sufficient knowledge to enable them to classify correctly the specimens presented for examination. European scientists were undecided whether the fossils discovered in America were the remains of the elephant or the hippopotamus. In the course of his work it became necessary for Mr. Jefferson to discuss these remains in noticing the animal life of this country. In doing so he was able to prove conclusively that the fossils were the remains of neither the elephant nor the hippopotamus, but of the mammoth, and he completely foreshadowed the theory, now fully substantiated, that the mammoth of America was of quite a different species from the mammoth of Siberia. But in common with many eminent scientists of his time he, too, fell into the error of supposing that the mammoths were still a living race. To the end of his life he seemed confidently to believe that somewhere, in the valley of the Mississippi or beyond, herds of these huge monsters were still roaming through the forests. And with the usual boldness of one who reaches a rash conviction, he did not hesitate to record his rash belief that "such is the economy of nature that no instance can be produced of her having permitted any one race of her animals to become extinct."

An opinion like that appears ludicrous, indeed to a modern scientist, but it is not nearly so good an instance of the "follies of the wise" as the theory that Buffon advanced in regard to the animal life of America, and which Mr. Jefferson in the "Notes" attacked with such pleasing success. It is indeed gratifying to national pride to learn that, at a time when the intellectual life of America was moving wholly in political channels, a Virginia lawyer-farmer, unknown to the scientific world and to all appearances fully occupied with the solution of far different questions, was able to point out errors and refute theories in the work of the greatest scientist of Europe.

Buffon, in his "Natural History," with an inconsiderate rashness not wholly uncharacteristic of the man and the science of his time, had formulated the opinion, then current in French scientific circles, that animals degenerate in America; and with a great display of erudition, but a pitiable lack of facts, he essayed to prove that in the new world "*la nature vivante est beaucoup moins agissante, beaucoup moins forte.*" [Buffon, XVIII., 112.]

The conclusions, briefly summarized, which he reached are these: that animals common to both the old and the new world are smaller in the latter; that those peculiar to the new are on a smaller scale; that those which have been domesticated in both have degenerated in America; and that on the whole the Western hemisphere exhibits a smaller number of species.

We have said above that Jefferson was familiar with the works of Buffon; we have now to see that he was more familiar with them than Buffon himself. To sustain the propositions outlined above the distinguished scientist had advanced the theory that the climate of America is colder and more moist than that of Europe, whereas, he claims, heat and dryness are the atmospheric conditions most friendly to the production and development of large quadrupeds. Assuming that the climate of America is correctly described as colder and more moist than that of Europe—though taking care to point out that the meteorological facts then ascertained were not sufficient to justify any opinion as final—Mr. Jefferson proceeds to quote another passage [VIII., 134] from Buffon's work, in which the forgetful author had declared that it was cold and moisture, and not heat and dryness, which increased the bulk of animals. Nor was he content with pointing out this inconsistency. Taking that portion of the theory of the degeneracy of American animal life which claims that American quadrupeds are of inferior size, Mr. Jefferson collected an immense amount of data, by personal investigation and wide correspondence, which he arranged so as to give a comparative view in three tables of the weights (1) of aboriginals of both the old and the new world, (2) of aboriginals of one only, and (3) of those domesticated in both. The first table shows that of twenty-six quadrupeds common to both Europe and America, seven are larger in America, seven of equal size, and as to the other twelve, sufficient facts are not yet procurable to warrant a final decision; the second table shows that eighteen quadrupeds are peculiar to Europe and seventy-four to America, while one of the seventy-four, the tapir, weighs more than all the eighteen together; and the third table leads us to conclude that with equal care and food the domestic animals of America will reach as large a growth as those of the European stock from which they are derived.

After refuting with such effective completeness the propositions put forward by the French naturalist, Mr. Jefferson, whose habit of hasty judgment and rash generalization is so well known, might naturally be expected to jump to the opposite extreme and put in a claim for the superiority of animal life in America. But it was not so. His controversy with

Buffon seems to have taught him the danger of making too categorical assertions in science, and all he ever claimed to have proved in his tables was, that no uniform difference existed in favor of the animal life of either Europe or America.

Soon after Mr. Jefferson completed the "Notes on Virginia" he was sent abroad on diplomatic service. The years that he spent as American Minister at the French court were busy years in many ways, but his official duties were of such character that he had more time than ever before for the prosecution of scientific study and investigation. He was now introduced into a society where the work of a scientist was looked upon with a much warmer sympathy than was common in America, and he lost no opportunity of making the personal acquaintance of the ablest men in the various branches in which he was interested. Among them was Buffon. The presentation of a copy of the "Notes on Virginia" had failed fully to convince him that animals do not degenerate in America. Indeed, Mr. Jefferson found a very general disposition in Paris circles to look contemptuously on everything in the new world except political freedom; the Abbé Raynal went even so far as to assert that the Caucasian race deteriorated in mind and body when transplanted to American soil. How wittily Dr. Franklin answered this charge, at one of his dinner-parties at Passy, is known to every reader of Franklin's or Jefferson's biographies. That such opinions of American animal life should still be held, Mr. Jefferson's love of scientific truth, and perhaps even more, his love of country, would not permit. Steps were at once taken to secure a practical illustration of the falsity of the French view. He wrote to several friends in different parts of America—more especially President Sullivan of New Hampshire—requesting them to send him the bones and skin of the largest moose obtainable, the horns of the caribou, elk, deer, spike-horned buck, and other large animals which by their size might give ocular proof of the point he wished to establish. After many vicissitudes the moose reached Paris in safety, but was accompanied by such a bill of expense as made Jefferson think, for a moment, that scientific controversy was indeed a very costly recreation. However, he felt amply repaid when Buffon, after an examination of the specimens and consideration of other demonstrated facts, receded from his former position and said to Mr. Jefferson, in his stately way, "I should have consulted you, sir, before publishing my 'Natural History,' and then I should have been sure of my facts." In a similar way he obtained and added to the Royal Cabinet of Natural History many other American specimens with which he had found the men of science unacquainted.

Another episode of his European life it will be interesting to glance at, as showing the crude state of geological knowledge at that time. In the great French *Encyclopédie*, under the article *Coquilles*, Voltaire had discussed the origin of the sea shells found in elevated portions of the earth's surface. It was a question, indeed, which had attracted the attention of many and distinguished observers from the earliest years of Egyptian civilization; but geology was not yet sufficiently advanced to solve it. To account for the presence of marine shells at a distance from the sea, three theories then had their supporters: (1) that, originally deposited in an ocean bed, they had been raised to their present position by some process of upheaval; (2) that they were distributed over the earth's surface by the Noachian flood; (3) that they grew, like crystals, by virtue of a certain plastic force in nature which could fashion stones into organic forms. In support of the third theory Voltaire had solemnly cited a series of experiments by which a certain M. Sauvagiere claimed to have watched the same identical shells, unconnected with animal bodies, grow from small to great. This strange theory, like everything bold and opposed to accepted opinions, whether in science, politics or religion, had a great charm for Mr. Jefferson. And when, on a little tour through the south of France, he came into the vicinity where these experiments were said to have been made, he inquired, with a carefulness worthy a better subject, as to the truth of Sauvagiere's statement. Many of the persons visited seemed to believe implicitly in the theory of shell growth. Mr. Jefferson, however, contrary perhaps to what we might have expected, did not accept this explanation, but with the instinct of a true scientist, he decided that only a long series of carefully attested experiments could really constitute satisfactory proof. He discussed this whole question of marine deposits in his correspondence with Rittenhouse, and finding himself unable to assent to either of the three theories referred to above, he recommends that scientists wait for further and fuller observations before adopting a hard and fast conclusion. Mr. Jefferson was right. Nothing but more extended observation has enabled the scientific world to decide which of these three theories was correct. In this matter, at least, he seems to have been actuated, from first to last, by the true scientific spirit.

The years immediately subsequent to his return from France were sufficiently filled by his duties as Secretary of State and his personal wrangles with Hamilton. But after his retirement from the Cabinet in 1793, he again devoted much time and attention to scientific matters, with the special object of promoting scientific study in the new nation. In recognition of his services and attainments the American Philosophical Society elected

him its President in January, 1797—an office that he held without interruption until approaching age compelled him to resign in 1814. During all those seventeen years there was no political movement in which he did not take a more or less active part, and that, too, with the keen pleasure born of a vigorous self-admiration; but it was at least with an equal satisfaction that he felt himself the official head of America's little scientific world.

His connection with the Philosophical Society was not, however, merely perfunctory. At the time of his election to its Presidency he was already engaged in observation and study which was to enable him, in a few months, to make such a contribution to the scientific knowledge of the world as gave his name, already immortal in statesmanship, a permanent place in the history of paleontology.

Some laborers, while digging in the floor of a cave on the estate of one Frederic Cromer, in Green Briar County, Va., had found, at a depth of two or three feet, a collection of bones, the size and form of which indicated an animal unknown to them. The news of this discovery speedily reached Mr. Jefferson, and he asked his friend Colonel J. Stuart to procure the bones and forward them to Monticello. The request was complied with. He had expected that the bones would prove to be those of the mammoth. But on examination he found them to be the *os femoris*, a radius, an ulna, three claws, and several other bones of one foot of some animal up to that time utterly unknown to science. From the size and general characteristics of the claws, however, he supposed them to have belonged, at all events, to some carnivorous animal. In this supposition he was mistaken. Further, and perhaps we ought also to say more intelligent, study by Dr. Wistar proved the animal to be a giant edentate, allied to the recent sloths. But Jefferson's error, as Prof. Leidy has pointed out in his monograph [*"Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge,"* Vol. VII.], was of much less importance than many that have been made by the very best professional naturalists.

While still engaged in these studies at Monticello, Jefferson received the announcement of his election to the Vice-Presidency of the United States, and when he went to Philadelphia for the inauguration, he carried with him these newly discovered bones, together with a carefully elaborated statement of the results of his studies in connection with them, to be presented to the Philosophical Society. The spectacle of an American statesman coming to take part as a central figure in the greatest political ceremony of our country and bringing with him an original contribution to the scientific knowledge of the world, is certainly one we shall not soon

see repeated. Indeed, it is difficult to recall anything like it from any page in history.

Under date of March 10, 1797, he filed with the Philosophical Society his formal document announcing the discovery—a paper which appears in the published "Transactions" [IV., 246] as "A Memoir on the Discovery of Certain Bones of a Quadrumed of the Clawed Kind, in the Western Parts of Virginia." Colonel Stuart was granted the diploma of the Society for his assistance in the matter, and the new discovery was appropriately named the *Megalonyx Jeffersonii*—a name by which in science it will always, of course, be known. And so if Mr. Jefferson had never written the Declaration, had never rendered his country any political service, his name would still have been secured from forgetfulness. The original specimens deposited with the Philosophical Society were subsequently transferred to the cabinet of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia, and there, carefully preserved, they are still shown to the curious visitor.

It is especially interesting to observe him at critical periods in his political career turning, not so much for relief as for instruction, to the prosecution of scientific investigation. At times of the fiercest party conflict, when less happily constituted minds would scarcely have been able to attend to the ordinary routine duties of life, we find him yielding to that subtle native force which, all through his life, was constantly drawing him away from politics to science. Thus, during those exciting weeks in February, 1801, when Congress was vainly trying to untangle the difficulties arising from the tie vote between Jefferson and Burr, when every politician at the capital was busy with schemes and counter-schemes, this man, whose political fate was balanced on a razor's edge, was corresponding with Dr. Wistar in regard to some bones of the mammoth which he had just procured from Shawangunk, Ulster County. Again in 1808, when the excitement over the embargo was highest, when every day brought fresh denunciations of him and his policy, he was carrying on his paleontological studies in the rooms of the White House itself. Under his direction upward of three hundred specimens of fossil bones had been brought from the famous Big-Bone Lick and spread in one of the large unfinished rooms of the Presidential mansion, and Dr. Wistar was asked to come from Philadelphia and select such as were needed to complete the collections of the Philosophical Society. After this selection had been made, Mr. Jefferson, remembering the scantiness of similar specimens in the cabinets of France, sent the remainder to Paris. It was so all through life. Never for a moment, however apparently absorbed in other work, did he lose his warm sympathy with Nature. "*Flumina amo sylvasque inglorius*" are the words we meet

again and again in his letters; and even the pedantry of the quotation cannot conceal the genuine longing he felt, when at the very height of fame and power, to be studying Nature's forms and forces.

Even in these days of science-worship a President who should devote himself to such studies would certainly be more or less caricatured in the public prints. But at that time, when scientific acquirements were so generally regarded in America as vain, useless, and even hostile to the Divine purpose, his efforts in that direction excited the utmost scorn and derision. The satirical verses entitled "The Embargo," published by the youthful Bryant in 1808, perhaps best illustrate the disparaging estimate then put upon even original contributions to scientific knowledge. The verses possess scarcely any poetic merit, and the author, who so soon outgrew their insipidity, never cared to include them in his collected works. Indeed, as a specimen of "manufactured" poetry few imitators of Pope ever produced anything worse. Bryant was only thirteen when the verses were published, and, naturally, the sentiments expressed are only those current in his rural neighborhood. How Jefferson's studies in natural history were regarded may be seen in such lines as these:—

"Go, wretch, resign the presidential chair,
Disclose thy secret measures, foul or fair.
Go, search with curious eyes for horned frogs,
'Mid the wild wastes of Louisianian bogs;
Or, where the Ohio rolls his turbid stream,
Dig for huge bones, thy glory and thy theme."

It is, perhaps, not surprising that such apparent ignorance as to the real value and dignity of Mr. Jefferson's investigations should prevail in a region where the people are said to have hung their Bibles down the well when the news came that he had been elected President.

But indeed many of the opinions he held were really deserving of nothing better than ridicule. At one time we find him declaring that Newton's theory of the rainbow has been overthrown; at another that the Creek Indians are direct descendants from the Carthaginians of Hanno's lost fleet; and again accepting as true the statement of a trader that a thousand miles up the Missouri is a salt mountain eighty miles long and forty miles wide, of solid rock-salt with no tree or shrub upon it. The ready acceptance he gave to these and similar absurdities was the result of his own temperament and the spirit of his time. Placing little value on long established theories and generally received laws, he was ever fatally ready to believe the new and the startling; and his habit of quick decision, if it

sometimes enabled him to reach a truth in advance of other men, more usually compelled him to stultify himself by championing theories wild and visionary in the extreme. Moreover, it was an age which, however incredulous in religion, was very credulous in science. One need not be surprised at Jefferson's scientific blunders when one remembers that as late as 1770 a man infinitely superior to him in every respect, the greatest intellectual prodigy, indeed, of modern times, the mighty Goethe himself, was still searching, with an almost childish credulity, after the "virgin earth."

To botany, as a science, despite his descent from Isham Randolph, he never gave any considerable study. But his interest in the discovery and cultivation of plants suited to the needs of the agriculturist was active and continuous. What plants were best adapted to the climate and soil of different sections of the United States, and how various garden vegetables could be cultivated to the best advantage, were questions in regard to which he never tired of speculating and experimenting. For many years he kept a carefully tabulated record of the earliest appearance of the common garden products in the local markets; and on his journeys abroad he was always looking for new plants which might with profit be transplanted to America. In this last quest he was not infrequently successful. And when, later in life, he drew up a list of the services he believed he had rendered his countrymen, to the disestablishment of a State Church, the abolition of entails, the prohibition of slave importation and the drafting of the Declaration of Independence he was not ashamed to add the introduction of olive plants and heavy upland rice into South Carolina and Georgia. "The greatest service," he says, "which can be rendered to any country is to add a useful plant to its culture." To his list of services he might also have added, without impropriety, the contribution to scientific knowledge made by the expedition of Lewis and Clark which was undertaken during his Presidency and at his suggestion. The value of the information those explorers obtained was largely owing to the excellence of the instructions which Jefferson drew up for their guidance—instructions which no one but a trained naturalist could have so well adapted to their purpose.

In his later years of retirement at Monticello he necessarily lost much of his interest in the natural sciences; for the rapid advances made at the beginning of the present century in every department of physics soon left him far behind. In recognition of his past services, however, his declining years were honored with election to membership in the scientific societies of many European nations. Geological specimens still kept their place on

his library table, and the bones of the mammoth and the horns of every species of American deer were still displayed in the main hall of his hospitable home. Now and then, in the letters of those later years, faint traces of the man of science may still be seen; but when, in 1814, he writes to Dr. John Manners in support of the Linnæan system of classification as opposed to that of Blumenbach or Cuvier, he is constrained to add, with a little touch of pathetic regret, that the subject is no longer so familiar to him as it was in other days.

In considering Thomas Jefferson as a naturalist one may smile at his stupid blunders and baseless theories, or admire the many-sided activity which enabled a distinguished statesman to win a name also in the field of science; but one fact must force itself home to every mind—the immense and rapid progress of science and the love of scientific study among the American people. Later generations have nobly performed the duty imposed upon them by Jefferson himself, when, in a letter to Dr. Willard, of Harvard College, adverting to the young men whose life work was not yet begun, he said—"We have spent the prime of our lives in securing them the precious blessing of liberty. Let them spend theirs in showing that it is the parent of science and virtue; and that a nation will be great in both, always in proportion as it is free."

Fredric V. Luthy

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

Unique Petition of the Boston Ministers in 1709.

Contributed by Mr. E. H. Goss.

[EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY : After the article "About Richard Bellingham" was in type [XIII. 262], Mr. Artemus Barrett, of Melrose, who contributed the letter from which was taken the extract about Legislative action in the case of Governor Bellingham's will, found in his collection several other interesting Bellingham manuscript documents, and among them was the very petition or address referred to as coming from "the Two Mr. Mathers with the Rest of the Ministers in Boston." It is a vigorous paper, worthy of the distinguished preachers of the Gospel from whom it emanated, and cannot fail to interest the readers of your Magazine. It was undoubtedly written by its first signer, as it is indorsed in file, "Rev. Mr. Mather's Letter. Governor Bellingham. 1709."—E. H. Goss.]

The document is addressed :

"To his Excellency Joseph Dudley Esqr.,
With the Honorable Council and Representatives, of
the Province of the Massachusetts Bay now in
General Court assembled :
The Address of sundry Ministers of the Gospel.

Having been informed, that the Hon^{ble} Richard Bellingham Esqr., who was for many Years the Governor of this Colony, did by his last Will and Testament devote a considerable Part of his Estate unto pious Uses ; particularly that He instructed and empowered those, whom He had made Feoffees in Trust, that, out of the Rents of his Land, there should be erected on one of the Farms an Edifice, wherein the Neighborhood should assemble for the Solemn Worship of God : And He willed also, that six or more young Students should be educated for the sacred Ministry ; and this Benefaction to be annually and successively continued :

And having understood, that this very pious Will was afterwards, and when it had been executed for divers Years, declared void in a General Court ; but without the Concurrence of that Honorable Gentleman, who was then the Governour of the Colony : Whereupon the Estate has been wholly alienated from the Purposes,

to which it had been so religiously devoted, and much other Confusion has followed in the Application of it :

On this Occasion we beg leave to express the Concern and Sorrow, which may justly be expected from such as wish well to the Country.

We know that a Testament should be in Force, when the Testator is dead : And if it be confirmed, (as we understand Governour Bellingham's Will was in the legal Methods) No Man ought to disannul it [Gal. III. 15, Heb. IX. 17. 'Brethren, I speak after the manner of men : Though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto. For a testament is of force after men are dead : otherwise it is of no strength at all while the testator liveth.'] It is also a dangerous Thing to devour that, which is holy, [Prov. XX. 25. 'It is a snare to the man who devoureth that which is holy, and after vows to make inquiry.'] And, in all Nations, they have been afraid of alienating Deodands.*

Upon such Considerations, we cannot be without Fear, that, if a Thing of this Nature should be approved in a Country of our Profession, and by the Heads and Representatives of the Province, it may be found among those Errors, which expose the Land to the Displeasure of Heaven, and be neither for our Honour nor our Safety.

We have heard that the principal Reason which sway'd those who did so far disannul the Will of the deceased Governour, without and against the Will of the then living Governour, was their Doubt, that He had not done well in leaving so little of his Estate unto his only Son. But their Opinion has in the Providence of God since had a notable Confutation. By means of their Act, besides the little Benefit, that the younger Bellingham had from it in his Life Time ; the Estate is now wholly gone from the Family of the Bellinghams, as well as from the pious Uses designed by the Honorable Testator : And it is fallen into the Hands of those who are as little disposed to do with it that Good, which He projected, as they are related to his Family. In short, an evident & remarkable Blast from Heaven seems to have attended the matter.†

No Man can think, but that if the Religious Gentleman were now living, He would rather confirm this his ancient Will than have his Estate applied as now it is.

* A personal chattel which was the immediate occasion of the death of a rational creature, and for that reason given to God, that is, forfeited to the Crown to be applied to pious uses.—*Webster*. A former English law now abolished.

† Among these papers there was also a long, eight-paged "Indenture made the fifth day of Septem^r in the first Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith &c. and in the Year of our Lord" 1702, wherein Edward Hull, "Citizen and Haberdasher," and John Shelton, "Citizen and Sadler" of London conveyed to Edward Watts of "St. Botolphs Aldgate London Lawyer & Rebecca his Wife" all the lands and property in Boston and "Wynnysymet" received by Samuel Bellingham from his father Gov. Bellingham, and which Samuel had conveyed in 1695, to Edward Hull and John Shelton. This was indorsed, "A True Copy as is Entred with the Records of Deeds for the County of Suffolk, Lib. 22, folio 120-2 & fra. Exam^d pr Ezek^l Goldthwait Reg^r."

There was in Lincolnshire a Person of Quality, Sir George Lenpaul, renowned for the Piety and Charity expressed in his last Will and Testament. Among other good works, the Funeral Sermon upon Him tells us, He caused six Scholars to be brought up in the Universities, whereof several proved great Instruments of Good in the World. Our *Bellingham* was a Lincolnshire Gentleman : And since He has expressed the like Piety and Charity in his last Will and Testament ; certainly it will be a Dishonour unto New England, if thro' us it be defeated.

Considering, that it is no new Thing for a General Assembly to rectifie a Mistake in a preceding Assembly ; We esteemed it our Duty, in all respectful Manner to pray, that this great Matter, wherein the good of the Country is more than a little involved, may be again and in the Fear of God considered ; since the Interest of Religion and the Souls of many, and this not only for the Present Age, but in the Generations to come, is after an uncommon Manner concerned in it.

We are your Servants in the Lord.

Increase Mather.

Peter Thatcher.

Thomas Bridge.

John Danforth.

Cotton Mather.

Nehemiah Walter.

Benjamin Wadsworth.

Ebenezer Pemberton."

June 10, 1709.

[Upon the opposite leaf of this address is written : " On the Outside Page there is the following Endorsement by the late venerable Dr. Increase Mather in his own Hand-Writing ." E. H. G.]

" I cannot but look upon the destroying of Governour Bellingham's Will as a very unrighteous and sacriligious Impiety ; and that the Country is involved in the Guilt of it.—I therefore desire, that, after my Decease, my Executors will take effectual Care, that this Testimony against it be published to the World ; hoping, that, when some Persons are removed, there will those succeed, who will concern themselves to endeavour that That, which is just and right in the Sight of God, shall be done.

May 1, 1712.

Increase Mather."

VOL. XIII.—No. 4.—26

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS*

V

(Continued from page 298, vol. xiii.)

RING.—A combination of persons, as "the Tweed Ring," "the Whiskey Ring," etc. (*q. v.*), who play into each other's hands for mutual advantage. It appears to have come into general use shortly after the civil war.

ROORBACK.—In 1844 alleged extracts from the "Travels of Baron Roorback" were published for political purposes, and the ruse was so successful that "roorback" became a general term for a political forgery or fiction.

RUM, ROMANISM, AND REBELLION.—During the closing days of the presidential campaign of 1884 a "ministers' meeting" was held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, in New York, in the interest of the Republicans. Some five hundred attended, all denominations being nominally represented. The principal address was made by a Protestant divine who committed the extraordinary blunder of stigmatizing the Democrats as the party of "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." Mr. Blaine, who was present, failed to make a fitting rejoinder, but the Democratic managers were not slow to make the most of the mistake. The country was placarded with these three fatal R's, and, as the result proved, this bit of alliteration lost the battle for the Republican party. The vote was so close in New York State that the result was for some days in doubt, and as the national result depended on this vote, a dangerous excitement prevailed. The State was eventually found to have gone Democratic by only 1,149 votes, and it is believed that far more than that number were lost by the Republicans in consequence of the momentous remark with which the reverend gentleman concluded his address.

SALT RIVER.—An imaginary stream up which a defeated candidate is supposed to be sent, and whence he is not expected to come back. The origin of the expression is as follows: Salt River,

geographically, is a tributary of the Ohio. Its source is in Kentucky, and being very crooked and difficult of navigation, it was, in the early days, a favorite stronghold for river pirates. These highwaymen were in the habit of preying upon the commerce of the Ohio, and rowing their plunder up Salt River, whence it was never recovered. Hence it came to be said of anything that was irrevocably lost, "It's rowed up Salt River." By an easy transition it was applied to unsuccessful candidates. "He has been rowed (or rode) up S. R.," or "We'll row him (or ride him) up S. R. next fall."

SALT BOILER, THE.—A nickname of the Hon. Thomas Ewing, Senator, and a member of Harrison's and Taylor's Cabinets. When a boy he is said to have worked as a boiler at the salt springs of Ohio. He was the father of Thos. Ewing, late Brig.-Gen. of Volunteers.

SEVEN MULE BARNUM.—A nickname applied by Republicans to Mr. Barnum, of Connecticut, who is said to have used the words "seven mules" in a cipher dispatch, meaning "seven thousand dollars."

SOAP.—Originally used by the Republican managers during the campaign of 1880, as the cipher for "money" in their telegraphic dispatches. In 1884 it was revived as a derisive war cry aimed at the Republicans by their opponents.

SALARY GRAB.—During the 42d Congress, 1871-'73, a bill was passed to increase the salaries of the Executive, and of Senators and Representatives. The popularly obnoxious feature of the act was that it gave back-pay for the entire session to the very men who had the measure under consideration, and eventually voted upon it. Such a howl of indignation went up from the whole country that the act was repealed, save in the executive clauses, and many of the

* Copyright by Charles Ledyard Norton, 1885.

offending members paid back into the treasury the money which they had drawn.

SCRATCHERS.—Persons who erase names from the regular party "ticket" (*q. v.*). See "Young Scratchers."

SHORT HAIRS.—See Swallow Tails.

SAND LOTS.—See "Kearnyites."

SLAVE CODE.—State laws relating to the possession of slaves. It was held by the Abolitionists (*q. v.*) that there was no United States law or slave code whereby the general government could hold slaves. The phrase is of frequent occurrence in the Abolition and Free Soil papers prior to 1860.

SLAVEROCRACY.—A not very happy, though perhaps justifiable compound of slave and *υπαρτιν*, meaning simply the persons representing the political power of the slave States (*q. v.*). An early occurrence of the word is in the New York *Express* of September 4, 1848. Later it was of frequent occurrence in the daily press, especially at the North.

SLAVE OLIGARCHY.—The Slaveholders' Oligarchy is the more proper form. Indeed, it is believed to have been at first used in that way, but during the heated days of the anti-slavery agitation it was popularly contracted as above.

SLAVEOWNIA.—The word is found in the Kansas correspondence of the New York *Tribune* in 1862, and may have had a local currency at that time. It did not come into general use.

SLAVE POWER.—Namely, the slaveholders' power, as it existed during the days of negro slavery.

SOLID SOUTH.—The unbroken political bond of the Southern States. Latterly the united white vote (Democratic) as opposed to the solid Republican vote of the negroes. The phrase has been traced back only to the reconstruction period succeeding the civil war (*circa* 1868). It is alleged, however, that it was in use prior to the war.

SLAVE STATES.—These, as they existed prior to the civil war, were Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

SILVER GRAYS.—Conservative Whigs. First

used at a party convention from which the conservatives "bolted," their white hair suggesting the appellation to a bystander, who called out, "There go the Silver Grays!"

SONS OF LIBERTY.—A name assumed by certain secret societies whose purpose was the liberation of Confederate prisoners held at the North during the civil war. An alleged branch of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

SPLIT-TICKET.—See "Ticket."

SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY.—The supposed right which any settlers on United States territory have to pass laws for their own government.

SPOILS.—"To the victor belong the spoils of the enemy," said William L. Marcy, of New York, in the U. S. Senate in 1832, and shortly thereafter the suggestion was acted upon. That is, the public offices were filled by representatives of the party in power. The spoils system, then introduced by Democrats, was taken advantage of by the Republicans when they came into power in 1860.

SWALLOW-TAILS.—During the campaign of 1876 a considerable number of Democrats who moved in fashionable New York circles took an unprecedented interest in political affairs, hoping to effect much-needed reforms. It is said that John Morrissey, a retired prize-fighter and a prominent local politician of the day, becoming incensed at this invasion of his prerogatives, went down town one morning clad in full evening dress, and with a French Dictionary under his arm. He explained his new departure by saying that this sort of thing was necessary in order to retain one's influence. The opposite faction was called the "Short Hairs," in deference either to their "fighting cut," or their supposed recent release from prison.

STALWART.—A Republican who stands by his party right or wrong. The term acquired its special significance when Roscoe Conkling was the leader of the party (*circa* 1878-9). His followers were denominated "Stalwarts." They supported what was known as the "Machine wing" (*q. v.*) of the Republican Party.

STAR ROUTES.—These are post-office routes which are not self-supporting, and are designated by asterisks in the "Postal Guide." The conditions of operating such routes are obviously favorable to speculation, and the term "Star

Route" was connected with highly disreputable official scandals from 1876 to 1884.

STATE RIGHTS.—The political creed which favors the retention of independent powers by individual States as opposed to "Centralization" (*q. v.*).

STILL HUNT.—Originally a sporting term, but applied during the campaign of 1876 to political methods conducted in secret, or under-handed methods.

STRADDLE.—A stockbroker's term which has acquired a political meaning during the campaign of 1884 as "the straddle in the platform," meaning an attempt to provide for any event in the future or meet the views of people who hold diverse opinions.

STRAIGHT TICKET.—See "Ticket."

STRONG GOVERNMENT WHIGS.—One of the early divisions of the original Whig party which favored what we now call "centralization," as opposed to State rights, or the "particularists" (*q. v.*). This wing of the party adopted the more easily handled name of Federalists (*q. v.*) after the adoption of the Constitution in 1789.

TABOO.—A verb adapted from the Polynesian dialect, meaning to prohibit.

TAMMANY.—An Indian chief of the Delaware tribe whose name was adopted shortly after Washington's first inauguration (1789), by a patriotic society, which had numerous "wigwams" in different towns and canonized St. Tammany as the patron of the young republic. This society soon became political in its character, and at this writing survives only in the New York wigwam, Tammany Hall, which practically controls a majority of the Democratic vote in the city.

TATTOOED MAN.—A caricature was published in *Puck* just before Mr. Blaine's nomination for the Presidency in 1884, representing him as indelibly tattooed with words and figures suggestive of the charges which his enemies brought against him.

TOM THE TINKER.—A *nom-de-guerre*, originating during the Whiskey Rebellion (*q. v.*) of 1791-94. The house of an obnoxious official was pulled to pieces by a mob whose members gave out that they were "mending it." Mend-

ing and "tinkering" being interchangeable terms, the members dubbed themselves "tinkers," and "Tom the Tinker" was shortly evolved as the popular watchword of the first rebellion against the United States Government.

TIPPECANOE.—A nickname of William Henry Harrison, ninth President of the United States, given him because of his victory over the Indians of the Northwest under Tecumseh, in 1811. "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" was the refrain of a popular song during the Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign in 1839 (*q. v.*). C705

THIRD HOUSE.—The Lobby (*q. v.*).

TICKET.—A list of candidates placed in nomination for office, as the "Democratic ticket," the "Prohibition ticket," etc. A "Straight ticket" comprises all the regular party nominations. A "Split ticket" represents different divisions of a party. A "Mixed ticket" combines the nominees of different parties. A "Scratch ticket" is one from which one or more names have been erased.

TISSUE BALLOTS.—Ballots printed on thin paper so that a single voter can deposit a number of them at one and the same time without detection. Tissue ballots are believed to have been invented in North Carolina in 1876.

THREE-TWENTY-NINE (329).—During the presidential campaign of 1880 these numbers were chalked by Democrats on every wall and door-step, and fence in the land. Mr. Garfield, the Republican candidate, had been charged with having received as a bribe \$329 worth of Credit Mobilier stock.

TOM, TIP, AND TY.—A party motto common in Ohio during the "Hard Cider" campaign of 1839. "Tom" Corwin was running for the governorship of the State, while "Tippecanoe" (Harrison) and Tyler were the Whig candidates on the Presidential ticket.

TORY.—When the Declaration of Independence compelled a definition of the lines between royalists and rebels, Tories naturally remained loyal to the crown, while Whigs generally espoused the patriot cause. After the Revolution the word Tory dropped out of popular usage save as a term of opprobrium. (See Whig.)

CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON.

(To be continued.)

MINOR TOPICS

THE FAIRFAX FAMILY

Letter from Professor Theodore W. Dwight.

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY: I read with great interest and profit the article in the last number of the Magazine upon the Fairfax family, particularly of that great branch of it which is closely identified with American history. Much more might be said of their high courage and soldierly qualities. Will you permit me to supplement the article by a single fact which I deem of value?

The first Lord Fairfax had two sons not mentioned in the paper referred to—William and John, his younger brother, who was killed in the war in the Palatinate in 1621. In 1620 the King of Spain levied an army of thirty thousand men in Flanders under the command of the Marquis Spinola. To meet this force, mighty at that time, King James of England sent one regiment of brave men under the command of Sir Horatio Vere. William Fairfax was a captain in the regiment. This handful of men was soon compelled to divide and betake themselves to strongholds, there to await a siege. It was the fate of Captain William Fairfax and his brother to be shut up in Frankenthal, a brother captain, Burroughs, having the command. They endured a siege of a month. In the course of it both Captain Fairfax, then only twenty six, and his brother were killed while heroically defending the town, in which they were practically abandoned by those in power. They displayed, though so young, such excellent military qualities and conspicuous courage that when the Marquis Spinola at a later time entered the town as a military commander he spared the noble monument erected to the memory of the valiant brothers by the inhabitants of the town in the Dutch church. The Latin inscription still exists in print, showing how nobly they fought and how gloriously they died. Later events and the association of the lustre of the Fairfax family with the virtues of Washington make it an American inheritance, and so I venture to ask you to reproduce it in the Magazine as a public testimonial to the early men of our own stock:

"In beatissimam Memoriam Dom. generosi Guilielmi Fairfax, Honoratissimi domine, Thomæ Fairfax de Denton in Com. Ebor. equitis Aurati filii, cohortis Anglicani ducis insignis, qui anno natus circiter XXVI post animi plurima edita testimonia invictissimi unâ cum Joanne fratre suo junione, in obsidione Francovallenti, hic facta emptione arreptus, ille ictu bombardiæ percussus occubuerit, Anno M.D.C.XXI."

This, I believe, is the substance of it :

"In most blessed memory of William Fairfax, Esquire, son of Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton in the County of York, England, a noted Captain in the English regiment, who being about twenty-six years of age and having exhibited many proofs of his dauntless courage, was slain in 1821 together with his younger brother John at the siege of Frankenthal, the one being taken in a sortie and the other being struck by a cannon-ball."

When these uncles were slain, the great Lord Fairfax was about nine years old. We can imagine when word of their death came to Denton, the blood of the noble lad was fired with the recital of their valorous deeds, while his eyes were suffused at the loss he had sustained, for the third Lord Fairfax joined in future years surpassing valor to the utmost delicacy of feeling. He even hesitated to open the letters of the king, which he captured after the battle of Naseby, until persuaded by the pressing importunities of Cromwell. The uncles who died in the defense of Frankenthal were the forerunners of the nephew who risked his life and all that was dear to him in the defense of his country and the Parliament.

Thus, I believe that all the splendid deeds of those brave men, with the accounts of the modest worth of the second Lord Ferdinando, who, while Captain-General of the Parliamentary forces before the appointment of his greater son, ascribed all the glory of any success that he might have achieved to his God, assuming nothing to himself—these deeds and their glorious memories were recounted to George Washington amid the rural scenes of Virginia, and tended among other elements toward the formation of his matchless character.

THEODORE W. DWIGHT

COLUMBIA COLLEGE LAW SCHOOL,
NEW YORK, March 12, 1885

DID POCAHONTAS REALLY RESCUE CAPTAIN SMITH ?

One of the puzzles of American history is the question whether Pocahontas really rescued Captain Smith? It directly involves the character of the soldier. What is the truth?

A great deal has been written on the subject, and the views presented have been generally those of partisans. Neither side has surrendered the point, and the famous rescue remains a *vexatilia questio*. The writer of this article proposes, therefore, to examine it in a different spirit. Instead of presenting a rhetorical argument, which is an injudicious proceeding in matters of history, the subject, as he looks at it, will be resumed in a series of more or less ascertained statements.

I. In December, 1607, Smith, with a party of companions, sailed up James River, turned into the Chickahominy, and was captured by Indians, the men in his barge escaping to Jamestown. These facts are testified to by those escaping.

II. Smith was tied to a tree and about to be shot to death, when he exhibited an ivory compass, and by exciting the curiosity of the savages, perhaps their superstitious fears, induced them to spare or relieve him.

III. He was then conducted under guard through the "Land of Powhatan," as far as the Potomac; brought back again to Wenowocomoco, the Indian capital on York River, where he was about to be slain by order of Powhatan, when Pocahontas, the emperor's daughter, interfered and saved him.

IV. This was effected by taking Smith's head in her arms, so that it was impossible to "beat out his brains" without beating out her own, and Powhatan afterward consented to spare him. He treated him kindly, and permitted him to return to Jamestown. All the statements in II., III. and IV. resting on the authority of Smith only.

V. Pocahontas, who was a girl of twelve or thirteen, soon after this made her appearance at Jamestown with a party of Indians, carrying baskets of food; and every four or five days came back with "so much provision that saved many of their lives that, else for all this, had starved with hunger."

VI. Afterwards, when some Indian thieves stole a number of turkeys belonging to the colonists, and were caught and imprisoned, Powhatan sent Pocahontas to intercede for their release, and Smith released them with the statement that it was "for her sake only."

VII. Smith stated to his friends at Jamestown on his return from the York that Pocahontas had saved his life. The "General Historie" says, "His relation of the plenty, state, and bountie of Powhatan so revived their dead spirits (*especially the love of Pocahontas*), as all men's fears were abandoned."

VIII. If the incident had been untrue and Smith had not spoken of it at the time, its subsequent publication in England, where many of the old colonists were then living, must have provoked injurious comments, to say the least. Among those still "living in England," who had been present at the time at Jamestown, was George Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland.

IX. No explanation is discoverable of the fact that Pocahontas ventured fearlessly to trust herself at Jamestown, other than the confidence that she would be well treated, as she had saved Smith.

X. Smith took a deep interest in her, as he afterwards showed in his letter to Queen Anne, in which he said that he would be guilty of the "deadly poison of ingratitude" if he forgot her goodness to him.

XI. She took a deep interest in him, since, after his departure from Virginia, she never again visited Jamestown; married Rolfe only after hearing that he was dead; and when they met in England, covered her face with her hands and said that she had only heard that he was alive on her arrival at Plymouth.

XII. In the same interview she reproached him with having forgotten his old affection for her, and for treating her with cold formality, leaving the impression that events in their past lives had made ceremony unreasonable between them.

XIII. The "rescue" thus appears—from such records as remain—to have been an event which actually occurred.

XIV. But there are reasons for doubting it, in spite of the circumstances above mentioned, which may appear plausible. Proof exists that, in spite of Smith's statements, the event never occurred.

XV. In 1608, soon after the alleged rescue, he wrote a letter or pamphlet styled "A True Relation of Virginia," subsequently published in London.

XVI. This pamphlet purported to relate all that had taken place in the colony up to that time, and Smith's capture is described; but no reference is made either to the scene on the Chickahominy, where he was bound to a tree to be shot, or to his peril on the York from which Pocahontas saved him.

XVII. But certain features of this publication appear mysterious and suggest comment. Some copies purported to be by Captain Smith, others by "Thomas Watson," and others by "a gentleman of that Colony"—Virginia. There was then a possible doubt as to the true authorship.

XVIII. Smith, no doubt, wrote it, but a part was suppressed in publication. The editor, signing the initials "J. S.," says in the preface, referring to the author, "Somewhat more was by him written which as I thought (fit to be private) I would not adventure to make it publicke."

XIX. This omission may or may not have been made with reference to a recent order of the London Company—"You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Captain Newport of all that is done; * * * and to suffer no man to write any letters of anything that may discourage others."

XX. The "True Relation" was sent by Captain Nelson, who sailed for England soon after Captain Newport. If it contained passages to discourage others there was a reason for suppressing them.

XXI. Smith's imminent peril on the Chickahominy and York was a matter "fit to be private," as the danger to which he had been exposed would discourage emigrants.

XXII. The "True Relation" probably contained a narrative of everything, and the editor in obedience to the order of the Company, omitted the obnoxious passages—on grounds of prudence, as he intimated in his preface.

XXIII. The text of the "True Relation" supports the conjecture that the passages omitted referred to the scenes on the Chickahominy and York. When the narrative reaches Smith's capture there is a break in the text, and half of one sentence is joined to half of another. "Somewhat more" appears to have been written, which was interposed between the half sentences; for the sentence beginning on the Chickahominy ends with Smith on his way back to Jamestown—"a fact so curious," says Dr. Eggleston, in his interesting "Life of Pocahontas," as to be "incomprehensible even to so careful an editor as Mr. Charles Deane."

XXIV. But other differences exist between the accounts in the "True Relation" and in the "General Historie." Smith states in one account that he was supplied

with sufficient food for *ten* men ; in the other that the food was enough for *twenty*. The number of his Indian escort to Jamestown is also differently stated, and in the "Relation" the savages are said to have "treated him kindly," without any specification of the time, while in the "Historie" "had mollified their hearts with compassion" after Pocahontas had saved him.

XXV. The amount of food in both accounts was indicated by a general expression ; and it was natural, writing long afterwards, that Smith should not remember the exact number of his escort.

XXVI. The third difference as to his treatment by the savages is not a difference, since both accounts are true.

XXVII. If, when Pocahontas visited London in the year 1616, Smith invented the fable of his rescue, he exhibited extreme folly, since he must have been aware that he would be exposed ; and a man of his sense could never have made such a statement.

XXVIII. He did make the statement at that time that the incident had occurred. He wrote to the Queen that Pocahontas had "hazarded the beating out of her brains to save his." She had afterwards saved him a second time in the winter of 1608, he said—for the truth of which he appealed to the "honorable gentlemen, Captain George Percy, Captain Francis West, and other resolute spirits now living in England." They had witnessed the latter incident, and were at Jamestown when the former occurred—they could testify whether he stated the truth.

XXIX. He continued to speak of the event as true. In "New England Trials," he wrote—"God made Pocahontas, the King's daughter, the means to deliver me." And in the "General Historie" he wrote that Pocahontas "got his head in her arms and laid her own upon his to save him from death."

XXX. Pocahontas must have been aware of the "open letter" to the Queen in 1616, as she was daily visited by courtiers who were familiar with Court affairs, and her flattering reception by the King and Court have always been attributed to it.

XXXI. As far as we can form an opinion of her, Pocahontas was a truthful person. Sir Thomas Dale had "labored long to ground the faith of Jesus Christ in her, and had succeeded." She renounced her "idolatry" and was baptized ; "lived civilly and lovingly" with her husband, and had a child whom she "loved dearly." Rolfe, who knew her intimately, spoke of her "desire to be taught and instructed in the knowledge of God ; her capableness of understanding ; and her aptness and willingness to receive any good impression."

XXXII. His character recommended him as a witness. Hamor, secretary of the Colony, said that he was "a gentleman of much commendation ;" the Rev. Alexander Whitaker spoke of him as "honest and discreet ;" and Sir Thomas Dale, the Governor, testified that he was a person of "good understanding."

XXXIII. He was present with Pocahontas in London when Smith made his statement ; if the rescue had never occurred they were both guilty of falsehood by remaining silent, only.

XXXIV. They did remain silent, which seems sufficient proof that the event had happened. If they had contradicted Smith his enemies would have heralded it everywhere.

XXXV. Pocahontas in 1617 made a "religious and godly end," and it is not charged by the enemies of Smith that she had ever denied the rescue.

XXXVI. But she may have made this denial, and the record of the fact may be lost. The alleged rescue was so incredible that it is necessary to believe that Smith invented it; he was a wandering adventurer, and wished to attract attention to himself as the hero of a remarkable incident.

XXXVII. But the incident was not incredible, as similar ones are on record; and Smith was not a wandering adventurer, since he enjoyed the friendship of many eminent men, was a favorite with Prince Charles, the heir apparent, afterwards Charles I., and had been appointed by James I. "Admiral of New England."

XXXVIII. Therefore, Smith was rescued from death by the "blessed Pocahontas," as he called her; embraced the first great public occasion to acknowledge what he owed to her; was never charged by his contemporaries with making a statement that was not true—but has fallen at last a victim to the historic doubters!

The above "heads of argument" have been disentangled from a great mass of discussion in which the opponents seem to be inspired by the atmosphere of battle. The present writer has preferred to emerge as completely as possible from the hot atmosphere, and present fairly the opposing points that the readers may judge. One point has not been touched—the question of Smith's general reliability. He has been charged with boasting of his own exploits without regard to truth, and the present writer can only say that he can find no proof of this. Fuller, the author of "The Worthies of England," in the next generation, said that his fame rested only "on the prose and pictures in his own books"—the "True Travels and Adventures" and the "General Historie." It seemed incredible to the old gossip that Smith could really have slain those three "Turkish champions"; that he had been knighted for his military services, though his patent was recorded in the Herald's office; or that he really performed the work in Virginia claimed for him in the "General Historie." The claim was not made by Smith, since he was not the author of that work. The narratives were written by others, and collected by Smith at the request of the Company; so that if the prose and pictures established his fame it was established by others. The worthy Fuller had his jest, which he loved dearly, but really admired Smith; for he says of him that he had "a Prince's heart in a Beggar's purse." The soldier had certainly great self-esteem; but many passages in his writings are so noble and full of piety that it is impossible to believe that he was a charlatan.

As to the isolated question of the incident of his rescue by Pocahontas, the pros and cons have been presented above as candidly as possible. After a full and careful study of all the old records relating to it, the writer is satisfied that the

objections made to it are untenable. Laying aside all other arguments, there is a moral argument which is irresistible—that the account in the “General Historie” bears on its face every mark of truthfulness. It is contained in the chapter headed “What happened till the first supply,” and the narrative is “written by *Thomas Studley*, the first Cape merchant in Virginia, Robert Fenton, Edward Harrington and *J. S.*” It embraces an account of events from June, 1607, to January, 1608, and Thomas Studley, who died in August, 1607, had no doubt begun it. At his death, Fenton and Harrington went on with the relation, and carried it forward to the moment of Smith’s capture on the Chickahominy.

Where Smith took up the pen may be easily seen in the “General Historie,” Vol. I., page 158. Fenton and Harrington conclude their portion by saying “when this newes *came to Jamestown* much was their sorrow for his loss,” when “*J. S.*” continues the narrative with “the manner how they used *and delivered him* is as followeth.” What succeeds is the relation by Smith of his subsequent adventures, as to which there was no other witness; and the whole account is so evidently truthful as to exclude the idea of invention.

These old figures have disappeared from men’s memories, but are worth remembering; and if we recall them, it seems only just that they should appear as they really were. Smith, in the estimation of the present writer, who has attentively studied his life, was a very great man; and probably nothing would have more surprised him than to have been told that he had never been “rescued!”

JOHN ESTEN COOKE.

NOTES

A CURIOSITY OF THE EMBARGO (xii. 467)—The publication in your Number for November, 1884, of "*Embargo has saved us*," attracted the attention of an ingenious contributor to the *Toronto Truth*, who has constructed a magic square of the words "*Cleveland is our President*." The author says it can be read upward of five thousand different ways by starting with the center letter C and taking the most zigzag course to any of the four corners.

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t n e d i s e r p r u o u r p r e s i d e n t

PETERSFIELD

COLONEL JOHN BAYARD — General James Grant Wilson read a paper before the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society at its sixteenth annual meeting with the above title. Colonel John Bayard was born in 1738. He was the

twin brother of James Ashton Bayard, the great-grandfather of the present Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard. The fact was cited that four Bayards have occupied seats in the United States Senate almost continuously during the present century, being the largest and longest representation of one family in that body. This family has been connected by marriage with the Washingtons, of Virginia; the Bassetts, Carrolls, Howards and Wirts, of Maryland; the Kembles, Kirkpatricks, Stevenses and Stocktons, of New Jersey, and with the De Lanceys, Jays, Livingstons, Pintards, Schuylers, Stuyvesants and Van Rensselaers, of New York, and the Bowdoins and Winthrops, of Massachusetts. A portrait of Colonel John Bayard was displayed, copied from an original by Chas. Wilson Peale, and belonging to Mrs. Stevens, of Castle Point, New Jersey, she being a great-granddaughter of the subject of the address.

Colonel Bayard inherited property in Maryland from his father, there being no will, and he divided it with a brother whose children he afterwards bestowed it upon as upon his own. The wife of General Wilson is a great-granddaughter of Colonel Bayard, and loaned to the Society for the occasion the family Bible of her ancestor Petrus Bayard, nephew and namesake of Governor Stuyvesant. It is more than two centuries old, and in the original binding, with clasps and corner pieces. It was printed at Dordrecht. Colonel Bayard served with distinction in the Revolutionary war; was a member of the Continental Congress, and a personal friend of Washing-

ton, Franklin, Lafayette, and Hamilton. Kosciusko was a frequent guest at his house. Bancroft pronounces Col. Bayard to have been "a patriot of singular purity of character and disinterestedness, personally brave, earnest and devout." The address, with a steel portrait, will appear in the Society's "Record" for April.

AN ANTIQUE CUSHION—We have before us a small pin-cushion made from the wedding dress of Martha Washington—a light salmon, brocaded or watered silk, of great beauty. The cushion was a wedding present from Mrs. Robert E. Lee (Mary Custis), the great-granddaughter of Mrs. Washington, to her intimate young friend Miss Abby L. Peters, now Mrs. Arthur Cook, who still retains and cherishes the valuable relic. The original letter from Mrs. Lee which accompanied the gift, dated September 9, 1851, is also in existence. After explaining through whom the treasure had come into her possession, and expressing her belief that it would be the most acceptable offering she could select for the occasion, Mrs. Lee, who had been delayed in finding a proper messenger to convey it, writes: "I wish it could have reached you in time to take its station with the many costly offerings which I have no doubt adorn your chamber."

EDITOR

MAJOR SHERBURNE'S CERTIFICATE—Henry Sherburne, Esq. of the State of Rhode Island, Major of Col: Patersons Regiment, having been Omitted by the State of Massachusetts Bay, in the arrangement of the New Established Army,

on account of being an Inhabitant of another State—

That this may not be Construed by any Person, to the Injury of his Character—I have Given him, this public Acknowledgement, of my Approbation of his Conduct, in the Army under my Command, as an Officer as a Gentleman & take this method to return him my Thanks, for his Soldierlike Behaviour on all Occasions.

Given at Albany this 30th Day of Nov: 1776

HORATIO GATES

Major General

MAJOR SHERBURNE

J. E. M.

WAS IT A CHRISTMAS BOX—Captain Alexander Hamilton, of the New York Company of Artillery, by applying to the printer of this paper, may hear of something to his advantage. *The Pennsylvania Evening Post, January 25, 1777, Phil. Printed by B. Towne.* MINTO

A NEW JERSEY CENTENARIAN—Died at Long-Hill, New Jersey, on the 15th of May, 1795, Daniel Cooper, Esq. On the 7th of May he was one hundred years old; he was formerly one of the judges of the County of Morris, which office he sustained with reputation. He has left a numerous race of respectable descendants; he had buried five wives, and had married the sixth about four years ago, whom he has now left a disconsolate widow. He retained his faculties to the last,—and, but a short time before his death, he had strength to go about a very large farm, and give the necessary directions for the management of it.

PETERSFIELD

QUERIES

BEDLOW'S ISLAND—*A curious blunder in Orthography.* Will the Editor, or some one of the readers of the *Magazine of American History*, kindly explain how, why, and *when* the final w in this well-known name was changed into an o, or oe? Bedlow's Island received its name originally from its owner, Isaac Bedlow, one of the substantial Dutch residents of New York at the time of the English conquest in 1664, a man who was so highly esteemed that he was selected for an alderman by the new and foreign administration. During a hundred and fifty years, at least, the name of the Island was spelled correctly in all writings and records. Who is responsible for the curious blunder? And why is it perpetuated?

A. B. E.

FIRST USE OF WOOD PULP IN PAPER MANUFACTURE. *New York, September 16, 1795*—A very interesting discovery has lately been made in the State of Pennsylvania, in the art of paper making, by a Mr. Biddis. It is likely to reduce the price of that important article, by producing a saving of rags. The invention consists in reducing saw dust to a pulp, mixing it with the pulp of rags, and forming the paper from this mixture. We have seen a specimen of paper made in this manner, certified to be composed

of one fourth of saw dust, the remainder of rags. The body and the surface of the paper appear as good as usual; colour verges a trifle towards a greenish yellow, which we think could be effectually remedied by indigo.

We understand that in a paper of a coarser kind, a great proportion of saw dust may be used, even in some as far as three fourths. Mr. Biddis has erected a mill upon the principle of his invention, and taken out a patent, a right to which he proposes selling to one person in each of the States. The saw dust of all our woods may be used for the manufacture, though some are preferable to others.—*New York Magazine.*

Was this the first use of wood pulp in paper manufacture in America?

W. K.

MAJOR STEPHEN H. LONG—Has his journal of an Expedition to the Portage of the Wisconsin River in 1817 ever been published? If so, when and where? If not, is it known where the manuscripts can be found? The desired document was in the hands of Keating when he drew up the narrative of Long's expedition to the source of St. Peter's River in 1823. See that work, Vol. I., p. 223.

JAMES D. BUTLER

MADISON, Wisconsin

REPLIES

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS [xiii. 298]—I read with so much interest Mr. Norton's pages under this title, that I must be excused for putting in my oar again, this time only by way of amplification. The word *prox* or *proxy* is still used in

Rhode Island, not to designate an election where proxies are used—the practice being abandoned—but to describe the printed ballots themselves. The question "Where are the proxies?" or "Are the proxies ready?" may some-

times be heard on election-day, among committees or vote-distributors. Nor has the monosyllabic form disappeared. During a residence in Newport, Rhode Island, I remember to have been quite astonished when, as I approached the voting-place, a ballot was put into my hand, headed "Fish Prox." It turned out to be a ticket for city officers, got up in the interest of the fishermen, who were an important source of political influence in one of the wards.

T. W. H.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

A REVOLUTIONARY RELIC [xiii. 281]—

Editor of Magazine of American History:

I think you will find upon investigation that the sermon purported to have been delivered by the Rev. Joab Jout on the eve of the battle of Brandywine, is not genuine. It is the invention of one George Lippard, a sensational writer that flourished a generation ago in Philadelphia, and will be found in his "Legends of the Revolution," page 312. It is not here attributed to Joab Jout, but in a foot note Lippard mentions the publication of the sermon before with fictitious names. He then adds that a sermon was preached by the Rev. Hugh H. Breckenridge on the eve of the battle, and concludes as follows: "The sermon, I think, is not unworthy of that Christian band, who forsaking their homes and churches found a home and church in the camp of Washington." This is clearly a claim to the paternity of the sermon. About the year 1852 a book entitled "The Romance of the Revolution," was published in New York, in the appendix of which this sermon was inserted. Lippard immediately accused

the compiler of that book of plagiarism, because credit to him had not been given—and this, of course, was another distinct claim to the authorship of the sermon.

It may be said that Lippard possibly plagiarized it, but the internal evidence indicates its modern origin. Your facsimile reproduction contains as a head line the words "a Revolutionary relic," which shows that your copy, at least, cannot be from the original hand-bill. The style of type-setting is modern. Had it been printed at the time or soon after the Revolution it would have been freely interspersed with capitals. The literary style, moreover, is conspicuously Lippardian. No one acquainted with Lippard's ejaculatory and high-pitched sentences, which were at one time a by-word in literary circles, can fail to recognize his hand. Then observe the prophecy in regard to "George of Brunswick." Can any one believe that this passage was written before rather than after the mental overthrow of George III.?

O. B. B.

NEW YORK, March 10, 1885.

"THE STORY OF ASTORIA" [xiii. 269] recalls to me that in November, 1836, I came from Kentucky to Wheeling by steamboat, on which was Henry Clay and many Western "great men." Mr. Clay was reading Irving's "Astoria," and I well remember hearing him tell the company around the cabin stove of Mr. John J. Astor's coming to Washington, while he (Mr. Clay) was Speaker, and urging our government to send out a war vessel to protect the trading posts, and how deeply he was

impressed by the grasp of mind and decision of character in Mr. Astor. But the impending war with Great Britain precluded action of the government.

G. P. S.

PHILADELPHIA, *March 6, 1885*

GEORGE W. ERVING [xiii. 206]—In reply to "Nalton's" inquiry, I would say that George William Erving was the only son of George Erving, of Boston, the first cousin of my grandfather, John Erving. He was born in Boston, but at five years of age was taken to England by his father (on the breaking out of the Revolution), was educated there, graduated from Oxford, and returned to this country in manhood. He was of the Jeffersonian school of politics, and was Minister to Denmark, Russia and Spain, as well as in other public service. He died unmarried in New York in 1850.

Through my father, the late Colonel John Erving, U. S. A., I have George W. Erving's sword, snuff-box, watch and portrait. His grandfather came to Boston from the Orkney Islands in the early part of the eighteenth century; he rose to eminence and wealth as a merchant, and was a member of the Governor's Council under the crown for many years. His eldest son John was also a member of the Council, and married the daughter of Governor Shirley; one of whose daughters married Governor Bowdoin, from whom the Temples and Winthrops descended. The name Erving is now only in the family of the undersigned—the great-great grandson in direct line of eldest sons, of John Erving, mentioned above, the first comer to

this country, whose portrait by Copley is in my possession. JOHN ERVING
NEW YORK, *Feb. 28*

OLDER THAN THE MOUND BUILDERS—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: In the article [xiii. 184] in your publication, the claim is made that the dust of human bodies can be distinguished from that of "other animate creatures" by the alleged fact that the "dust of man remains a conductor of electricity," while that of inferior animals has ceased to have this property. This statement must have been a surprising one to many, as it was to me, because it is altogether at variance with the common observation of experienced experimentalists in physical science. But, before recording my dissent, I have taken the pains to consult one of the leading physicists and chemists of our country (and indeed of the world), and am assured that the claim of your contributor is wholly erroneous, and that there exists absolutely no difference in conductivity or in other electrical properties or conditions between the remains—dust, ashes or mold—of the human body and similar remains of the body of an inferior animal. I am glad to observe that the contributor of "Older than the Mound Builders" has other evidence than that claimed above that the remains he has discovered and studied are those of the human species. The "find" he has made is of great interest and may be of corresponding value. Fuller information concerning it is certainly desirable, and will, I trust, be forthcoming.

THEO. F. WOLFE, M.D.

JERSEY CITY, *March 10, 1885*

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the regular monthly meeting, February 3, numerous additions to the library were reported. Mrs. Virginia Hammersly Field, Miss Margaret Livingston Clarkson, Eugene Thomson, J. Archibald Murray, Grove P. Mitchell, Edward H. Harriman, Harmon P. Read, Camille Weidenfeld, J. Meredith Read, Jr., and William W. Newcomb were elected resident members. The paper of the evening, on "The Romantic School in American Archæology," was furnished by Prof. Adolphe F. Bandelier, in which that learned archæologist criticised the romantic tendency in the literature of today on American aboriginal history, and showed that the general picture presented of the race inhabiting this northern continent previous to the Indians is in so many particulars contradictory and extravagant, that it cannot be a true one. In a rapid résumé, he further showed that the present views in American archæology do not vary in ethnological results from those of the sixteenth century, being but reflected pictures, not of things as they were, but as they were looked at and appreciated three centuries ago; the literature of that period being merely copied and not sifted, notwithstanding that historical study has since had the benefit of auxiliary branches in securing accumulated knowledge and experience. Prof. Bandelier declared in conclusion that the days of historical fiction are past, and that the progress of science in auxiliary branches is alone sufficient to carry the history of America to those heights where it shall become a critical, and therefore practi-

cally useful, branch of human knowledge.

At the meeting March 3, William B. Isham, A. J. D. Wedemeyer, Griffith W. Griffith, Charles Isham and George W. Van Siclen were elected resident members, and J. Carson Brevoort was constituted a life-member. In the paper of the evening, the Society was favored with an admirable memoir of the late Charles O'Connor, by his lifelong friend, the Hon. Charles P. Daly, a very important and valuable contribution to the American biographical page and the history of the New York Bar. This interesting tribute to the distinguished lawyer's memory included a narrative of the events and struggles of his early life, and the conspicuous triumphs of his professional career, together with many pleasing reminiscences and anecdotes of the past generation of New York lawyers and judges. His political views and connection with national affairs were reviewed, and in a masterly analysis of the many sterling virtues of his character his social qualities were happily depicted and an admirable portrayal was given of his eminent mental endowments and great moral worth. The memoir was listened to with the deepest attention by a large audience, embracing many of the older members of the society, in the purposes of which Mr. O'Connor always took a deep interest, and of which he was for many years Vice-President.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The March meeting of the Society was held at the Society's rooms on the evening of Monday, the 9th inst. The meet-

ing was an unusually full and interesting one. The chief attraction and interest of the occasion was an interesting paper prepared by the President of the Society, Hon. John H. B. Latrobe, and read for him by the secretary. It was entitled "An omitted episode in Maryland History," and referred to the action of the state in the colonization movement, and the planting of a Maryland colony in Liberia. It was styled an "omitted episode," because those who have essayed to write the history of the state have either overlooked it entirely, or wholly misapprehended its interest and importance, and passed it by with only the slightest and most incidental allusion. Of the movement the author of the paper might with all propriety say "*quorum pars magna fui*." He was one of the original projectors of the scheme, was President of "The Maryland Colonization Society" till, on the death of Henry Clay, he was called to succeed him as President of the "American Colonization Society," and he was the author of the code of laws by which the colony was governed, till it emerged from its tutelage and took a place in the family of nations. His modesty had led him, because of this intimate connection with the colony, to decline himself to write the history; but seeing it in danger of being overlooked altogether, he, as the last survivor of the original band, deemed it his duty to be the chronicler of their worthy deeds. Hence this paper. In it he sketched the public sentiment, seeking to emancipate the slaves, and which induced the legislature of Maryland in 1832 to vote to establish on the west coast of Africa a colony or the extension of liberty, and to

pledge to its support \$10,000 a year for twenty years. The first vessel that went out under this arrangement was the 160-ton brig *Ann*, in November, 1833, bearing missionaries and emigrants. They purchased a strip of coast, sixty miles in extent, at Cape Palmas, and established the colony that became known to the world as "Maryland in Liberia." From that time onward the vessels of the Society continued to carry out emigrants and prosecute trade with the colony, that flourished under the code prepared for it in Baltimore, a leading principle of which was a prohibition law as rigid as could have been desired by any St. John or Neal Dow. During all its existence as a colony not one vessel or one emigrant was lost in transit; and the state, even in its most straitened financial condition, never failed in its appropriation for the benefit of its African daughter till the outbreak of the Rebellion, and the change of the attitude of the nation to its citizens of African descent growing out of that great event.

The paper was long, and filled with facts and incidents hitherto unrecorded, and told in the pleasant style of its distinguished author. It will undoubtedly be printed as one of the series of valuable papers published by the Society.

SONS OF THE REVOLUTION—On the evening of Saturday, February 21, the Society of the Sons of the Revolution held their second annual dinner at the rooms of the Down Town Association, No. 50 Pine Street, New York, in commemoration of the 153d anniversary of Washington's Birthday. Thirty members were present. The President, Frederick S. Tallmadge, acted as toast-master. The

walls of the room were elaborately decorated with flags, and the tables with appropriate emblems.

The following toasts were proposed: "The Heroes of the Revolution and the Memory of Washington," responded to by Prof. John Fiske, of Cambridge, Mass.; "The Day we Celebrate," by Thomas H. Edsall, who read a song composed for the first public celebration of Washington's birthday in New York City in 1784, and gave an interesting account of the proceedings on that joyful day, which closed with a salute of thirteen guns from the ships in the harbor. "The Society of the Cincinnati," by Frederick J. Huntington; "The City of New York," by J. Bleeker Miller; "Massachusetts, The Cradle of Liberty," by George W. W. Houghton, who recited a ballad entitled "Three Riders out of Boston Town," "The Army and Navy," by Alexander R. Thompson, Jr.; and "The Allies of the Revolution," Ethan Allen and Floyd Clarkson.

The old song introduced by Mr. Edsall well deserves preservation. We present it in full.

SONG

Composed for the first celebration of Washington's Birthday in New York City, February 11, 1784 (O. S.), and sung by the

SONS OF THE REVOLUTION,

On the 101st Celebration of the Day, February 21, 1885.

[TUNE—*God bless America.*]

AMERICANS rejoice,
While songs employ each voice,
Let trumpets sound.
The thirteen stripes display,
In flags and streamers gay,
'Tis WASHINGTON'S birthday,
Let joy abound.

From scenes of rural peace,
From affluence and ease,
At freedom's call;
A hero from his birth,
Great Washington stands forth,
The scourge of George and North,
And tyrants all.

The silver trump of fame,
His glory shall proclaim,
Till time is done.
Genius with taste refin'd,
Courage with coolness join'd,
'Bove all an honest mind,
Has WASHINGTON.

Those mighty chiefs of old,
Caesars and heroes bold,
Who realms have won;
Smit by his brighter blaze,
Hide their diminish'd rays,
And yield the palm of praise
To WASHINGTON.

Long may he live to see
This land of liberty
Flourish in peace;
Long may he live to prove
A grateful people's love,
And, late, to Heaven remove
Where joys ne'er cease.

Fill the glass to the brink,
WASHINGTON'S health we'll drink,
'Tis his birthday.
Glorious deeds he has done,
By him our cause is won,
Long live great WASHINGTON,
Huzza! Huzza!

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—On the evening of the 10th of February, a large and very select audience assembled in the Society's rooms to listen to a paper from Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, Editor of the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, read by special invitation of the Society. The subject was "The Framers of the Constitution." Mrs. Lamb was very gracefully introduced by President Gammell as the lady

who had won honorable distinction as a leader in the department of American literature for which the Society was formed. At the conclusion of the reading Mayor Doyle made a few happy and appropriate remarks in moving a vote of thanks to Mrs. Lamb, and President Gammell spoke for some minutes with great eloquence on the subject of the paper.

On the 24th of February the Society, at its regular meeting, listened to an interesting and instructive address from the Rev. James M. Taylor, on the "Influence of the Crusades in European History." A hearty and unanimous vote of thanks was passed by the Society, and President Gammell, in rising to put the question, made a discriminating and appreciative summary of the events recited in his usually interesting manner. The meeting was then adjourned.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY held its twenty-seventh annual meeting at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, February 11. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: *Trustees*, Dr. Charles F. Ingham, Edward P. Darling, Ralph D. Lacoe, Sheldon Reynolds, Harrison Wright; *President*, Hon. E. L. Dana; *Vice-presidents*, Dr. C. F. Ingham, Rev. H. L. Jones, Capt. Calvin Parsons, Hon. Eckley B. Coxe; *Recording Secretary*, Harrison Wright; *Corresponding Secretary*, Sheldon Reynolds; *Treasurer*, A. F. Derr; *Librarian*, A. H. McClintock; *Assistant Librarian*, G. Mortimer Lewis; *Curators*, S. Reynolds, H. E. Hayden, H. Wright, R. D. Lacoe, C. F. Ingham. *Meteorologist*, E. L. Dana; *Historiographer*, Geo. B. Kulp.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY — A quarterly meeting of this Society was held January 20, 1884. Hon. E. B. Washburne, the President, occupied the chair.

The Hon. Mark Skinner announced the death of Rev. William Barry, and submitted eulogistic resolutions on the life and character of the deceased, one of the founders of the Society, and its secretary and librarian from 1856 to 1866. By a vote of the Society a painted portrait of Mr. Barry was asked for, and a request was made that E. B. McCagg, Esq., prepare a biographical memoir of him and deliver it at some future meeting of the Society.

Mr. W. K. Ackerman offered a memorial tribute to the memory of the late Judge Joseph Gillespie, of Edwardsville, Illinois, a corresponding member of the Society, which was accepted and ordered to be placed on the records of the Society. Hon. William Bross read a memorial notice of the late Thomas H. Armstrong, the secretary and librarian of the Society from 1866 to 1869, which was adopted and placed on the Society's records. Hon. A. H. Burley, one of the trustees of the Henry D. Gilpin Fund, made a report showing that \$49,527.21 had been received since 1874, and that the interest had been added, as provided in Mr. Gilpin's will, and the total amount of the fund was \$67,766.34.

On motion of Judge Skinner the portraits of the late Isaac N. Arnold and Thomas Hogue, President and Vice-president of the Society, were requested.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL, GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY held its stated meeting

at the Society's house, March 5, and in the absence of the President, Rev. Edward F. Slafter occupied the chair. He announced the death of Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, U. S. N., a director of the Society, and spoke of his loss to the Society and the community, stating that by vote of the board of directors a delegation had this day attended the funeral of Admiral Preble. Colonel Albert H. Hoyt, Cyrus Woodman and John Ward Dean were appointed a committee to prepare resolutions, to be presented at the next meeting.

After the corresponding secretary had announced and exhibited some of the more important donations since the last meeting, Rev. William C. Winslow read a paper on the discovery of the Pithom of Exodus I. by M. Naville, of the Egypt Exploration Fund. He first spoke of the spade as a modern means of acquiring the treasures of past knowledge, and referred to Rawlinson's estimate of the value of the identification of Pithom under Tel-el-Maskhutah, twelve miles west of the modern Ismailia. This stone city was built, as we are told, by the Israelites in forced bondage, of bricks with and without straw and in mortar. Naville unearthed some of the chambers in the place, which contains about twelve acres. They are built of the Nile brick, several feet thick, and the outside wall is twenty-two feet through. The entrance is from above, and the grain would have to be drawn or lifted out of the aperture at the top. These stone places or granaries were a kind of Government treasury—corn and grain were used as money—and had to be strongly constructed, particularly on the eastern frontier, where the Bedouins

of the desert made dashes then for plunder as now.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A meeting of the Executive Committee was held March 7, at the rooms of the Society, in the Westmoreland Clubhouse. A number of gifts of books were reported; also, from W. W. Corcoran, Esq., vice-president of the Society, a highly interesting album of autographs, containing those of the Presidents of the United States from Washington to Buchanan inclusive, with those of their Cabinet officers, besides those of many other persons distinguished in the annals of America and of Europe—among them Oliver Cromwell, Daniel O'Connell, Thomas Moore the poet, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Clarendon. Several gentlemen were elected members of the Society.

ARYAN ORDER OF AMERICA—Persons wishing to attend the summer assemblage of this order at Portland during July, 1885 (whether members or not), should communicate with the Herald-Marshall-General. The purpose of the meeting is to devise means for the establishment of a Herald's College for the benefit of families of historic lineage in the United States and British America, the formation of American Heraldry proper, the recognition of honorable merit in the historic arts and sciences by means of decorations, and the promotion of ethical representation in society. Historic accounts of families are requested from those in attendance. Address, Frederic Gregory Forsyth, Herald - Marshal - General, Portland, Maine.

BOOK NOTICES

MEDALLIC PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON. With Historical and Critical Notes and a Descriptive Catalogue of the Coins, Medals, Tokens and Cards. By W. S. BAKER. Square 12mo, pp. 252. 1885. Philadelphia: Robert M. Lindsay.

This beautiful volume is believed to include all the medals struck with the head of Washington. There are six hundred and eleven, and they are arranged in groups, the designs, legends, or inscriptions of the reverses in nearly all cases being the guide for assignment. The date of the first medallion memorial was 1783. These earlier coins had their origin in England, issued either as tokens or for speculative purposes to meet the demand for a circulation in this country: and the portraits upon them are purely imaginary, having little or no resemblance to Washington.

The author has undertaken in his arduous work to ascertain and assign to the different pieces, as he proceeds with his historical and critical notes, the originals of the portraits thereon represented, which labor of love will be heartily appreciated by the American public. He says in his preface: "All of the original portraits of Washington, commencing with that by Charles Wilson Peale, painted in 1772, and ending with the one by Saint Memin in 1783, possess, either on account of faithfulness of representation, artistic excellence, or historical connection, an engrossing interest. Of these, the Du Simitière (1779), Joseph Wright (1790), and Stuart (1796), have been introduced on medals, none of which, excellent as they may be in other respects, are of that positive character demanded by the requirements of medallion portraiture. The Houdon bust, however, seems fully to meet the demand. Modeled from a cast taken from the face at Mount Vernon in October, 1785, and used for the first time on the "Washington before Boston Medal," it has not only come to be recognized as the medallion type, but also as the standard portrait of Washington. One need only glance at the titles of the different groups to be impressed with the fact that the name of Washington has been associated with every subject—national, industrial, local and personal—that has had a place in the history of the country during the century. The medals are not all good, either in design or execution, some are positively bad, but examination of the entire list fails to reveal a single satirical reference. They show nothing but respect. Mr. Baker's arrangement is admirable either for reference or criticism. His plan simplifies and illuminates the subject. The volume is provided with an excellent index.

OLD SAINT AUGUSTINE. A Story of Three Centuries. By CHARLES B. REYNOLDS.

12mo, pp. 144. 1885. St Augustine, Florida: E. H. Reynolds.

The changing fortunes of St. Augustine during three centuries has furnished the data for a most entertaining little monogram, prepared with skill and excellent taste, with illustrations, a chronological table, and an index. The historical sketch, or series of sketches, begins with the age of romance, when the caravels of Columbus had but just pierced the cloud of mystery and gloom shutting out the West, and all Europe was ringing with tales of the wondrous new-found realms beyond the sunset. First the Spaniards, then the Huguenots in Florida, furnish chapters of absorbing interest. Then follows the founding of St. Augustine in 1565. No city in North America has experienced more violent changes, or passed through a greater variety of masters and invaders: thus the little work is a succession of tragic stories, hardly equaled in the wildest creations of fiction. Never on American ground of so small an area has warfare been so vindictive, or such barbarities perpetrated by human beings in the form of white men. Mr. Reynolds has given the reading public a concise and valuable record, written with care and accuracy, and deserving of the highest praise.

"GOMBO ZHEBES." LITTLE DICTIONARY OF CREOLE PROVERBS. Selected from Six Creole Dialects. By LAFCADIO HEARN. Square 12mo, pp. 42. New York: 1885. Will. H. Coleman.

These proverbs are all of negro invention, and are translated into French and into English, with notes. The curious process of transformation to which the negro slave subjected the language of his masters is exhibited in a measure by the translation of the proverbs into French. The author says in his preface that no one person could hope to make a really complete collection of Creole proverbs, even with all the advantages of linguistic knowledge, leisure, wealth and travel. But he has given us some very characteristic examples, and the work is really unique and valuable, and perhaps sufficiently full for its subject. Mr. Hearn's explanatory foot-notes are exceedingly interesting, and he has wisely added a carefully prepared index to the subjects of proverbs.

LUDLOW'S CONCENTRIC CHART OF HISTORY. Invented and compiled by JAMES M. LUDLOW, D.D. Card-board records, fan-shaped. 1885. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Price, \$2.00.

This ingenious device for the aid of the student and general reader in comparing and remembering historical events, is arranged in

thirty segments turning on a common center, each seven by ten inches in size. The whole chart can be taken in one hand like a fan, and the history of a nation in its great events, its rulers and illustrious men, in their respective epochs, spread before the eye at a glance, and the scene changed from country to country at will. The English, for instance, includes the chief events of nineteen centuries, the first century having the lowest place at the bottom of the handle, and the nineteenth the broadest margin at the top. The chart is to be read from bottom to top in the order of time, the numbers of the centuries being printed in red Roman numerals in the center, and the dates in the cross or concentric sections appearing in black type. Each important country has a separate leaf, and there are additional leaves for the Popes, the Church, and for literary characters. Reversing the fan, one finds the chronology of the pre-Christian centuries, the Roman empire in quarter centuries, the United States in quarter centuries, and exhibits of sculptures, painters, architects, useful arts, etc. It is well printed and handsomely mounted. It is a labor-saving contrivance for easy reference, and in accuracy of compilation is one of the very best we have yet seen.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE TOWN OF WEYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, from 1622 to 1884. Compiled by GILBERT NASH. 8vo, pp. 346. 1895. Vol. 2 Weymouth Historical Society Collections.

Weymouth is, next to Plymouth, the oldest town in New England, and its original boundaries have been preserved without material change up to the present time, a period of two hundred and sixty-three years. It was the first settlement made within what afterward became the colony of Massachusetts Bay. It has a unique history; thus the appearance of this excellent work will be welcomed by all historical and antiquarian students. The town records, covering at least two hundred and forty years, are well preserved, the dated record beginning in December, 1641, and a mass of property records, undated, which from external and internal evidence should, it is supposed, appear a year or two later. There is, however, a total absence of all church records for the first century of the town's existence. According to an early custom the pastor was the sole custodian of the records and papers of the church. Upon his removal or death these papers were in many instances included in his private property. Possibly we are yet to have a find among the descendants of some of Weymouth's earliest ministers that will throw light on the history of the first settlers.

Mr. Nash, the editor, is the corresponding secretary of the Weymouth Historical Society, familiar with the annals of the town, and an en-

thusiast in the study of local history. His work has evidently been a labor of love, performed with conscientious and painstaking care. Some sixty pages are devoted to genealogical sketches. The volume is well printed and bound and contains a very full index.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, from the Discovery of the Continent. By GEORGE BANCROFT. The Author's last Revision. Vol. VI. 8vo, pp. 572. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1885.

The sixth and concluding volume of the revised edition of this standard work is fitly illustrated with an excellent steel portrait of its eminent author. Mr. Bancroft, in the history of the Constitution of the United States, to which he devotes this entire volume, divides his subject into five Books, entitled: "The Confederation—On the Way to a Federal Convention—The Federal Convention—The People of the United States in Judgment on the Constitution—The Federal Government." In his opening chapter he refers to the great changes in the condition of the world since the beginning of his historical labors, considerably more than half a century ago, saying: "Power has now come to dwell with every people, from the Arctic Sea to the Mediterranean, from Portugal to the borders of Russia. From end to end of the United States the slave has become a freeman; and the various forms of bondage have disappeared from European Christendom. Abounding harvests of scientific discoveries have been garnered by numberless inquisitive minds, and the wildest forces of nature have been taught to become the docile helpmates of man. The application of steam to the purposes of travel on land and on water, the employment of a spark of light as the carrier of thought across continents and beneath oceans, have made all the inhabitants of the earth one society. A journey round the world has become the pastime of a holiday vacation. The morning newspaper gathers up and brings us the noteworthy events of the last four-and-twenty hours in every quarter of the globe. All states are beginning to form parts of one system. The ignorance and prejudices that come from isolation are worn away in the conflict of the forms of culture. We learn to think the thought, to hope the hope of mankind. Day by day the men who guide public affairs are arraigned before the judgment-seat of the race. A government which adopts a merely selfish policy is pronounced to be the foe of the human family."

One of the most interesting and useful chapters in the first Book is "The Struggle for Revenue." The whole sixth volume is a philosophical study. It traces the idea of union, and

the successive attempts made toward its realization, with a clear exhibition of the defects in the articles of Confederation: also the events and discussions that at last resulted in the Convention, and the details of the framing process. It is the crowning piece of the distinguished historian's life-work, a work which will stand in all the future as his own criticism upon his former production. The fact that six volumes take the place of the twelve earlier volumes cannot fail to greatly increase its circulation. The latest edition will be sought by many who have for years been familiar with its less condensed predecessors. The publishers deserve high praise for the handsome dress in which the work is issued, and which can be obtained at exactly half the price of the original edition.

MIND READING AND BEYOND. By

WILLIAM A. HOVEY. 16mo, pp. 201. Boston, 1885. Lee & Shepard.

The part of Mr. Hovey in this work has been mainly that of an editor of the several reports of the Committees for Psychical Research in London, Eng., organized in the spring of 1882 by some of the leading scientific minds in England, of whom were Prof. Henry Sidgwick, of Trinity College; the Bishop of Carlisle; Prof. Lord Rayleigh, of Cambridge; Prof. Balfour Stewart, of Owen's College, and others of equal eminence. Its object was to examine the nature and extent of any influence exerted by one mind upon another, apart from recognized modes of perception, together with the study of hypnotism, mesmeric trance, clairvoyance, and allied phenomena, and inquiry into the phenomena commonly called spiritual. The book before us is largely made up of experiments, which are very clearly explained, sometimes with the aid of diagrams. Committees were appointed by the Society from time to time, to scientifically and most carefully seek evidence bearing upon all the points of inquiry, for the sole purpose of ascertaining the truth. These investigations are of great public interest. The book is in the line of progress and of special value.

MY LADY POKAHONTAS. A True Relation of Virginia. Writ by Anas Todkill, Puritan and Pilgrim. With notes by JOHN ESTEN COOKE. 12mo, pp. 190. Boston, 1885. Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

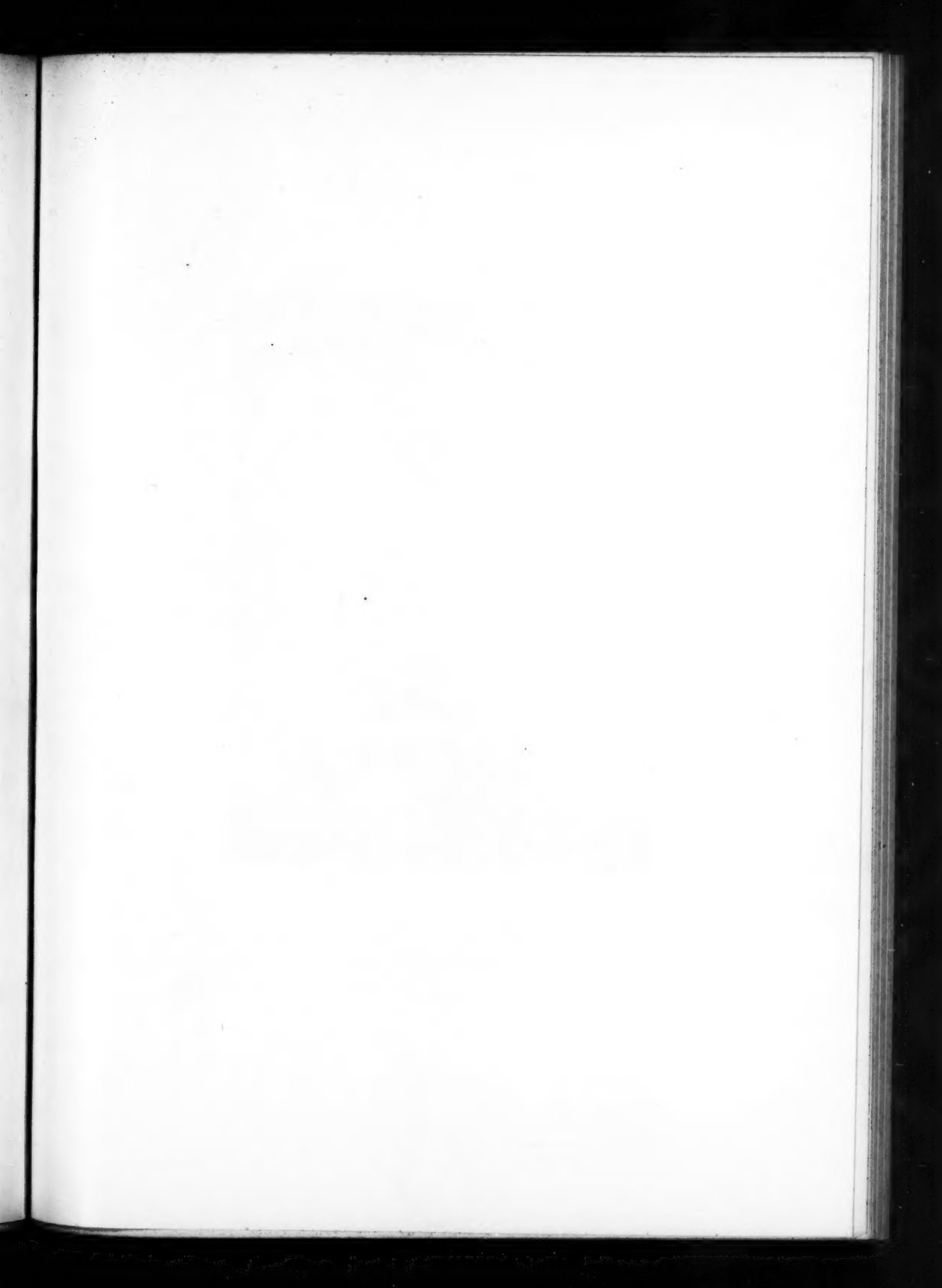
The beautiful story of Pocahontas, with all its bewitching romance, is retold in this unique and pretty volume, and in a manner so engaging that it will find multitudes of readers. Mr. Cooke is well known in the realms of history, biography and fiction, and has made a study of

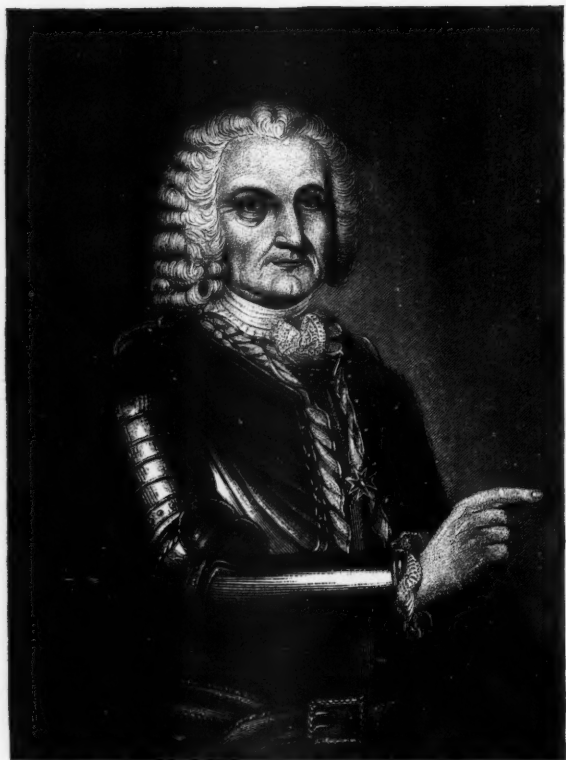
early life in Virginia. In this unpretentious but really valuable little volume he has reproduced with marked success the manners, customs, and modes of thought of the Pocahontas period. The narrative purports to have been told by Anas Todkill, one of Captain John Smith's companions, to which Mr. Cooke appends notes, showing how closely Todkill's story agrees with authoritative chronicles, and upon what basis Mr. Cooke has put each important statement into Todkill's mouth. The principal incidents of the Jamestown settlement are vividly portrayed. Mr. Cooke has had a double purpose in view, to write an entertaining novel, and to attack the historic doubt effectively in its most vulnerable point. He presents not only the authorities upon which the story of Pocahontas rests, but so vivid and picturesque an account of the whole matter that doubt, to gain lodgment in the reader's mind, must justify itself by proof. He writes in the spirit of one who believes that in saving the truth when doubt seeks to deprive us of it, he does equal service with those who discover truth hitherto unrevealed. The book is worth reading from every point of argument, no matter how much we have been taught to discredit the account of the episode in which the Indian Princess saved the life of Captain Smith.

SKETCH OF MAJOR-GENERAL WILLIAM MOULTRIE. Address by WILMOT G.

DESAUSSURE, President of the Cincinnati Society of South Carolina. 1885. Monograph. Pp. 29. Privately printed.

General Moultrie was one of Washington's most trusted generals, and the first President of the South Carolina State branch of the Cincinnati, an office which he filled with distinction for twenty-two successive years. He was descended from an ancient Scottish family, possessed of landed estates known as Roscobie, between Loch-Leven and Dumferline. His father, Dr. John Moultrie, emigrated to Charleston about 1728. He was commissioned Brigadier-General in the Continental army, September 16, 1776. Referring to his military services the eloquent orator says: "While South Carolina continues to be known as the Palmetto State, and the fort on Sullivan's Island to be designated as Fort Moultrie, future ages will recognize that the fort is so named in honor of its heroic defender, and that the State is so called because of the Palmetto, out of which that unfinished fort was built, when subjected to the fiery baptism by England's fleet, June 28, 1776." This admirable and authentic sketch, containing much hitherto unpublished information, will satisfactorily answer the inquiries of Mr. Moutray, our correspondent in New South Wales.





Bienville

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No. 3

COMMODORE MATTHEW CALBRAITH PERRY

A TYPICAL AMERICAN NAVAL OFFICER

THE life of the subject of this sketch is interesting for the following excellent reasons:

1. While yet a lad, he was active as a naval officer in the war of 1812.
2. He chose the location of the first free black settlement in Liberia.
3. He was to the end of his life one of the leading educators of the United States Navy.
4. He was the father of our steam navy.
5. He first demonstrated the efficiency of the ram as a weapon of offense in naval warfare.
6. He founded the naval apprenticeship system.
7. He was an active instrument in assisting to extirpate the foreign slave trade on the coast of Africa.
8. He commanded in 1847 the largest squadron which up to that date had ever assembled under the American flag in the Gulf of Mexico. The naval battery manned by his pupils in gunnery decided the fate of Vera Cruz, and the fleet's presence enabled Scott's army to reach the capital.
9. His final triumph was the opening of Japan to the world—one of the three single events in American History—the Declaration of Independence, and the Arbitration of the Alabama claims being the other two—which have had the greatest influence upon the world at large.

Justice has never yet been fully done to the memory of this illustrious son of Rhode Island, and faithful servant of the United States. The dramatic incidents of war are apt to impress the popular mind more profoundly, and rouse the national imagination to intense interest, than genius in diplomacy, statesmanship, skill in invention, or undramatic professional work. The canvas and the bronze, medal and national currency, multiplied biography and the orator's rhetoric keep alive the memory of the battle scenes in which Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry figured so bravely and well; but the deeds of the equally illustrious and, as I think, greater seafarer rest untrumpeted in the dusty pigeon-holes and sepulchre-like archives of the Navy Department at Washington. The grandeur of a victory